R E P O R T R E S U M E S

ED 018 483 UD 004 740

A DEMONSTRATION IN NEIGHBORHOOD SELF-HELP, COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM, THE ST. MARY'S NEIGHBORHOOD IN THE SOUTH BRONX, 1961-1966. A FIVE YEAR DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM.

BY- ENGEL, SOPHIE KERNOHAN, FRANCES K.
COMMUNITY SERVICE SOCIETY OF NEW YORK, N.Y.

PUB DATE JAN 67

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.50 HC-$3.80 93P.

DESCRIPTORS- *COMMUNITY ACTION, *NEIGHBORHOOD IMPROVEMENT, *PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT, *COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT, *YOUTH PROGRAMS, VOLUNTEERS, DELINQUENCY PREVENTION, STAFF UTILIZATION, INFORMATION SERVICES, SUMMER PROGRAMS, ORGANIZATION, COMMUNITY LEADERS, ENRICHMENT PROGRAMS, COMMUNITY RECREATION PROGRAMS, TUTORING, BRONX, NEW YORK, COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

ORIGINALLY CONCERNED WITH THE EARLY DETECTION AND PREVENTION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN A DEPRESSED NEIGHBORHOOD, THIS COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM CHANGED ITS FOCUS IN 1961 TO STRENGTHENING THE CAPACITY OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD TO DEAL WITH ITS OWN PROBLEMS. DURING THE FIRST YEAR, PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT WAS IMPEDED BY STAFF TURNOVER AND RESISTANCE TO THE CHANGE IN FOCUS BY SOME NEIGHBORHOOD LEADERS. A PROGRAM STRATEGY WAS DEVELOPED IN THE SECOND YEAR. PUBLIC SERVICES WERE TO BE MADE MORE RESPONSIVE TO LOCAL NEEDS IN VIEW OF THE WIDESPREAD DEPENDENCE ON MUNICIPAL AGENCIES. EXISTING YOUTH SERVICES WERE TO BE MODIFIED AND EXPANDED WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO RECREATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS. (PILOT PROGRAMS IN COOPERATION WITH SCHOOLS, CHURCHES, AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS IMPLEMENTED THIS GOAL.) NEIGHBORHOOD INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY ACTION WAS TO BE STIMULATED AND DEVELOPED THROUGH ORGANIZATIONS OF RESIDENTS AND THE STRENGTHENING OF EXISTING ORGANIZATIONS. DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF THESE PROGRAM STRATEGIES ARE DISCUSSED IN DETAIL AND ASSESSED AS TO THEIR SUCCESS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS ARE MADE. (AF)

ED018483

04740

CAP

Community Action Program

•

The St. Mary's Neighborhood in the South Bronx

1961 - 1966

A DEMONSTRATION IN NEIGHBORHOOD SELF-HELP

UD 004 740

COMMITTEE ON YOUTH AND CORRECTION
Department of Public Affairs
COMMUNITY SERVICE SOCIETY OF NEW YORK

helps troubled families through
counseling, community action, research
nonprofit, nonsectarian, founded 1848

C O M M U N I T Y S E R V I C E S O C I E T Y O F N E W Y O R K

Robert H. Mulreany
Chairman of the Board

Clifton W. Phalen
President

George M. Hallwachs
General Director

COMMITTEE ON YOUTH AND CORRECTION

Robert S. Potter, Chairman
Eliot D. Hawkins, Vice-Chairman

Richard C. Allison
Harold Baer, Jr.
Mrs. Elliott V. Bell
Leonard H. Bernheim, Jr.
Mrs. Michael Blow
Mrs. Clifford D. Clark
Mrs. Elmes Crawford
Andrew F. Derr, Jr.
Andrew F. Derr, III
Maurice Goodman
Mrs. David L. Guyer
Mrs. Paul Hallingby, Jr.
Mrs. Minna K. Hanauer
Mrs. Sam Harris
Paul C. Lambert
Donald B. Louria, M.D.
Mrs. Walter Maynard, Jr.
Mrs. Paul Montgomery
William J. Rennert
Edward L. Richards
Bartus Trew
Walter D. Wile
Harvey Folks Zimand

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Bernard C. Fisher
Director

Frances K. Kernohan
Staff Associate for Youth and Correction

Mrs. Sophie Engel
Director, Community Action Program

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

CAP

A DEMONSTRATION IN NEIGHBORHOOD SELF-HELP

Community Action Program

The St. Mary's Neighborhood in the South Bronx

1961 - 1966

A Report on the Five Year Demonstration

Prepared for the

Committee on Youth and Correction

by

Sophie Engel
Frances K. Kernohan

June 1967

Department of Public Affairs
Community Service Society of New York
105 East 22 Street, New York, New York 10010

UD 004 740

Copyright 1967 by
Community Service Society of New York

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY Community Service of New York TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER."

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
LETTER TO THE MAYOR	. . . . .	1
INTRODUCTION	. . . . .	v
I THE NEIGHBORHOOD	. . . . .	1
II THE STAFF AND VOLUNTEERS	. . . . .	4
§1. Functions of Staff	. . . . .	5
§2. Functions of Volunteers	. . . . .	7
III THE PROGRAM	. . . . .	13
Development of Neighborhood Services		
§1. The Information and Referral Services	. .	13
§2. Pilot Youth Service Programs	. . .	24
a. Reading for Enjoyment	. . . .	25
b. Cultural Enrichment Program	. . .	26
c. Homework Centers	. . . .	28
d. Truant Project	. . . .	29
e. Pied Piper Program	. . . .	30
f. Cooperative Play School	. . .	31
g. Career Conference	. . . .	31
§3. The Summer Resident Camp Program	. . .	33
IV THE PROGRAM	. . . . .	38
Development of Neighborhood Organization		
§1. The Neighborhood Advisory Committee	. . .	38
§2. Organization of Resident Groups	. . .	39
a. The Tenants Groups	. . . .	39

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

		Page
b.	Block Organization	40
	i The 147th Street Block Association . .	40
	ii The 141st Street Mothers' Group . .	45
c.	The Area Committee	49
§3.	The CAP Interagency Committee . . .	50
§4.	Cooperative Action with the South Bronx Community Council	54
V.	PLANNING AHEAD	63
§1.	The Transitional Period . . .	63
§2.	CAP's Successor	65
	(Community Action for Neighborhood Development, Inc.)	
VI.	CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS . . .	70

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Honorable John V. Lindsay
Mayor of the City of New York
City Hall
New York, New York 10007

Dear Mr. Mayor:

I transmit to the Office of the Mayor this report of a demonstration in neighborhood self-help.

In July 1961 the Community Service Society of New York at the request of the New York City Youth Board, a department in the Office of the Mayor until August 15, 1966, agreed to sponsor the Community Action Program in St. Mary's neighborhood in the South Bronx. The demonstration project, known as CAP, extended for five years. It was basically financed by the Youth Board with supplementary funds supplied by the Society for administration and a summer resident camp placement program. Responsibility for CAP in the Society was undertaken by the Committee on Youth and Correction in its Department of Public Affairs. Responsibility in the St. Mary's neighborhood was undertaken by the Neighborhood Advisory Committee composed of some 26 community leaders and a small project staff.

The City of New York has been in many respects in the vanguard of community action projects. CAP for example was one of the early efforts which pre-dated the federal anti-poverty program. CAP itself had a history of two years under a different sponsorship - the Juvenile Delinquency Evaluation Project - with a different focus. From 1959 to the time of the Society's sponsorship CAP was financed by the Youth Board under contract with the Board of Higher Education.

The CAP area was a 22 square block impoverished neighborhood, with a population of approximately 26,000 people. The Welfare Center serving the neighborhood had the second highest number of families in the city receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children allowances. There was a startling lack of community services available, health, educational and social services.

The Community Service Society attempted to find the answers to a number of questions in its work on this project. The results appear in the Conclusions and Recommendations of this report. The hope was that the answers might apply to similar depressed neighborhoods in New York and in other urban centers. A vital and realistic question was can a small professional staff mobilize an economically depressed neighborhood to deal with its own problems. The answer is found to be in the affirmative. It is our belief that at the outset of the federal anti-poverty program the pendulum swung too far in its emphasis that the poor should be allowed to help themselves without professional help and guidance. We are pleased that the current direction takes into account the necessity for professional staff.

With the aid of a small professional staff of five the St. Mary's neighborhood was able to make its wants known to such municipal departments as the Housing Authority, the Welfare Department and the Board of Education. In the process, however, staff, community leaders and residents found that there were many problems whose resolution depended on a closer identification of the central authorities with a small neighborhood. We welcome therefore the current efforts of the Department of Welfare to bring its services closer to the people through its satellite centers. We are at

the same time mindful that the central authority should maintain close contact so that problems found to be common to all neighborhoods are acted upon centrally, where appropriate, by modifying policies and procedures for the city as a whole.

In a similar vein we welcome the plans of the Human Resources Administration for poverty areas which are put forward in the Report of the Study Group of the Institute of Public Administration. We speak primarily to the functions ascribed to the Community Development Agency which include not only city wide planning but also give promise for a field operations unit. Our experience in the St. Mary's neighborhood strongly suggests that there must be key staff in communities, as an arm of the central agency, to assist not only Community Corporations in the development of their neighborhood programs but to coordinate the activities of the central administration with those of the individual communities.

The five year demonstration in neighborhood self-help has yielded visible results. As a consequence of this neighborhood's efforts to mobilize itself to improve its circumstances a new non-profit corporation, Community Action for Neighborhood Development, Inc., (CANDI) was formed. CANDI took over from CAP on January 1, 1967, with minimal funding supplied by the Human Resources Administration, and has at this writing resubmitted its request for anti-poverty funds for this next fiscal year.

CANDI's first request for anti-poverty funds was submitted in April 1966. Almost eight months to the day that request, substantially reduced during the intervening time, was rejected by the Regional Office of Economic Opportunity because of reduction in community action program funds by the Congress.

Because of the uncertainty of when CANDI would hear from the Anti-Poverty Council on its request, the Society, mindful that the CAP program should not be fragmented or dispersed by reason of lack of continuity, arranged to share the costs with the city of New York for a six month extension. CAP therefore actually did not terminate until January 1, 1967.

The report which follows is designed to enable the reader to learn of the various programs and techniques which were employed by the project staff. Some were successful, some not so successful. The lessons learned may be useful to others desiring to help a neighborhood lift itself and its people to a better way of life.

The Committee on Youth and Correction is grateful to the residents of the St. Mary's neighborhood, the Neighborhood Advisory Committee and its many committees, to the Youth Board and the Office of the Mayor for making possible its participation in this project for neighborhood self-help.

Robert S. Potter
Chairman
Committee on Youth and Correction

June 1967

INTRODUCTION

This report is an account of one experience involving residents in a process of change in a depressed neighborhood.

Initial Phase

The Community Action Program, known as CAP, was originally set up in 1959 under the Juvenile Delinquency Evaluation Project, directed by Dr. Robert M. MacIver. The focus was on early detection and prevention of juvenile delinquency in a depressed neighborhood. The St. Mary's neighborhood in the South Bronx was selected as the site. Provision was made for a small professional staff. Personnel and services were financed by the New York City Youth Board, a department in the Office of the Mayor. Supplementary funds were supplied by the Taconic Foundation. Joined with the staff in its work was a Neighborhood Advisory Committee composed of community leaders, representatives of community organizations, churches, schools, health and welfare agencies.

The purpose was to discover the children and teenagers who were suffering from neglect or lack of direction or who were getting into trouble of some kind and to guide them to the timely aid, counsel, protection, opportunity or special service they might need. The techniques were directed to encouraging the residents to bring their problems to CAP and to stimulating referrals from the schools, the Juvenile Aid Bureau of the Police Department and the churches. The program provided early detection, counseling and referral, block organization and recreation for youth.

CAP was quickly inundated with requests for a wide range of services. The enthusiasm and excitement generated in the neighborhood, coupled

with the pressure to produce quick, visible results because of the uncertainty of continued funding, led to CAP's undertaking numerous and varied activities beyond the resources of a small staff. Many of the programs were creative, worthwhile and potentially well suited to the needs of the residents. The problem lay in attempting too much too soon.

CSS Sponsorship

At the request of the Youth Board in July 1961 the Committee on Youth and Correction of the Society's Department of Public Affairs undertook the direction of CAP upon the termination of the Juvenile Delinquency Evaluation Project. There were several distinctive aspects of the CAP project which commended it to the interest of the Society, a voluntary, nonsectarian, social welfare organization devoted to the betterment of family and community life through a program of counseling, community action and research. In 1958 and 1959 the Society had conducted a study of the major social welfare needs in New York City and the future direction of the Society's program in relation to these needs.

"Searchlight on New York," a report of the findings, stated:

> In New York particularly - although this is probably true of every large city - the concentration of social problems in certain geographical areas of the city is a conspicuous phenomenon. In these areas - characterized by low incomes, inadequate housing, and subnormal social and educational standards - almost every phase of social maladjustment is proportionately greater than in the city as a whole. In these areas, too, are most frequently found concentrations of multi-problem families where family tensions are at peak and individual social conflicts are prevalent.
>
> Identification of these multi-problem areas is not difficult. Far more difficult is the development of constructive programs in which all branches of welfare service can effectively cooperate.

CAP afforded an opportunity to develop new approaches to neighborhood organization and service which might effect changes in neighborhood conditions conducive to the healthy emotional development of children and youth. The focus on juvenile delinquency was dropped. Any attempt to deal with the symptom of juvenile delinquency must of necessity come to grips with the massive inter-related problems which contribute to it - broken families, poor housing, lack of education, health problems, racial and ethnic tensions and a host of others. Broad measures on city, state and national levels are required for the solution of the social and economic ills of which juvenile delinquency is but one manifestation.

The new focus, dual in purpose, was on strengthening the neighborhood in its capacity to deal with its own problems and on gaining knowledge through this experience which would be helpful to city government in its planning for neighborhood programs for similar areas. The modest size of the project, which carried over from the initial phase, with respect to staff, geographical area and budget enhanced the potentiality for its application to other similar needy areas in the city.

The Committee on Youth and Correction believed that the resources of a small professional staff could be best deployed if efforts were directed toward initiating a process whereby the neighborhood could be helped to become increasingly active and effective in dealing with its own problems.

The development of the CAP program, with its changed focus, for the year following the termination of the Juvenile Delinquency Evaluation Project was hindered by staff turnover and resistance from some segments of the neighborhood leadership to the change in focus. That first year of CSS

direction was one of hiatus in program which adversely affected community relationships. The neighborhood pressed for services under the redirected program but new staff required time to obtain knowledge of the neighborhood and its needs, and to engage residents and leaders in identifying common problems. Staff also needed time to come to grips with the realities and frustrations of working in an impoverished area. Although the poverty syndrome does not vary significantly from one troubled neighborhood to another, the development of a program strategy requires an assessment of the components of a neighborhood, its strengths and weaknesses, resources and services, its characteristic patterns of dealing with its problems and its capacity and readiness for change.

The firm development of the CAP program which took place one year later evolved from an identification of the social and organizational needs of the neighborhood. The program strategy in summary was:

1. To make public services more responsive to local needs in light of the widespread dependence on municipal agencies. This was implemented through the Information and Referral Service and neighborhood organization activities.
2. To modify and expand existing youth services with particular reference to recreational and educational programs. This was implemented through a number of pilot programs conducted in cooperation with neighborhood schools, churches and community organizations.
3. To stimulate and develop neighborhood involvement in community action through the organization of groups of residents, professionals and leaders and strengthening existing organizations, particularly, the South Bronx Community Council.

CHAPTER I

THE NEIGHBORHOOD

The CAP project neighborhood consists of twenty-two square blocks, from East 138 Street to East 149 Street, between Willis and St. Ann's Avenues, in the St. Mary's neighborhood of the South Bronx. The population is currently estimated to be 26,000.

In recent years there has been a dramatic change in the composition of the population. In 1950, nearly 90 percent of the residents were "non-Puerto Rican white," mostly of Irish and German extraction. By 1960 this category constituted 50 percent of the population; Puerto Ricans 38 percent and Negroes 12 percent. It is currently estimated that at least 60 percent are Puerto Rican and 15 percent Negro.

The neighborhood ranks high in the city not only in the incidence of juvenile delinquency but in the extent of slum housing, dependency, unemployment, drug addiction, infant mortality, truancy and school drop-outs. In 1961, the delinquency rate was double that of the Bronx as a whole; the rates for infant mortality and venereal disease were significantly higher. The CAP area has been included among the ten highest areas of drug addiction in the city. As it is in the oldest section of the Bronx, the rate of deteriorating and dilapidated housing is well over twice as high as that of the borough.

The median family income in the CAP area is $4,714 as compared with $5,830 for the Bronx and $6,091 for New York City. The percentage of families with incomes under $4,000 per year is 40.4 percent. Within this grouping 25.1 percent have incomes under $3,000 per year.

The paucity of services, public and voluntary, in proportion to need is striking. For example, Lincoln Hospital, the municipal hospital which serves the target area, has the second highest emergency daily count in the entire city.

The population of the South Bronx is a very young one with a median age of 28.3 years in comparison with the city's median age of 35 years. This is reflected in a birth rate in 1964 that was almost twice as high as for the city as a whole. This has increased the pressure on bed utilization to the point that maternity stays at Lincoln Hospital have been steadily shortened until the average stay for non-complicated deliveries is now only two days.

The Melrose Welfare Center has the second highest number of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) cases in the city. More than half of these are concentrated in the area below East 149 Street. The public health agencies in the area report a large number of teenage unmarried mothers.

Severe school overcrowding has long been a problem in the South Bronx. In 1964 the school district in which the neighborhood is located was the third most critical area in the city with respect to school over-utilization. Seven thousand children out of an enrollment of 31,00 were over-capacity. A large proportion of these children were on short-time sessions, which meant the loss of one hour of instruction per day. Classes were overcrowded. Half of the children of kindergarten age could not be enrolled in 1965 because of lack of classroom space.

The services available to residents are provided primarily by public agencies, which are chronically understaffed and overburdened. The only settlement house in the area below East 149 Street is East Side House. Until recently, the area was also characterized by a dearth of civic organizations, citizen participation, and indigenous leadership. In contrast to such areas as the Lower East Side

of Manhattan and East Harlem, the South Bronx has had little previous experience in helping newcomers adjust to the problems of urban living.

However, facts and figures do not give the whole picture or climate of a neighborhood in which alienation exists between individuals and groups based on ethnic, economic and social differences. There is often separation and friction between old and new residents, between Negroes and Puerto Ricans, between unmarried mothers and intact families, between the employed and unemployed and between those living in public housing projects bordering the CAP area and those living in the slums inside the CAP area.

CHAPTER II

THE STAFF AND VOLUNTEERS

The manning table under CSS sponsorship called for nine positions. The program staff of five were a director, assistant director and three community organizers. Other staff were a research director and assistant and two clerical workers. With the exception of the position for the research director this had been the staffing pattern in CAP's initial phase under the Juvenile Delinquency Evaluation Project. Staff from the initial phase were carried over under CSS sponsorship but with the exception of the research assistant remained for only a brief time. She remained until the project closed. The first director remained only a month. His replacement came in November 1961 and resigned a year and one half later to be replaced by the director who remained until the close of CAP.

The staff operated from the CAP office which was relocated in August 1961 to more adequate space, approximately 2300 square feet on the third floor of a small elevator office building.

The average annual expenditure for the five year demonstration was approximately sixty-six thousand dollars. The total expenditure was approximately three hundred and thirty thousand dollars of which the Youth Board, the basic financer, contributed approximately 95 percent by financing on-site expenses. The contribution of CSS was to ensure the continuation of the project in a visible and vital form. In addition the Society financed the full cost of the camping program in the amount of approximately one hundred and forty-nine thousand dollars. These expenditures do not cover the period from July 1 through December 31, 1966

when the project was tided over on a reduced scale by the city of New York for the first three months and by CSS for the second three months pending a decision on the successor agency's application for anti-poverty funds. During the five year period 127 volunteers of diverse socio-economic backgrounds worked with CAP staff on eight programs.

§ 1

Functions of Staff

The five program positions required accredited social workers. All but two persons who held these positions met this qualification. The two exceptions, community organizers, however had past experience in social work agencies. One was Spanish speaking and therefore was a great asset because of the large number of Puerto Rical residents in the neighborhood. Staff was diversified. It included caseworkers, group workers and community organizers. The project never succeeded in keeping filled for any extended period the position of research director. Therefore, while facts and figures were maintained, accompanied by evaluation, the results understandably are less complete than had CSS been able to accomplish its original plan of building a research design into the project.

Administration of the project was so designed that the program staff were permitted broad flexibility in carrying out their assignments. For example, the director and assistant director assumed direct responsibility for aspects of program in addition to those for administration and supervision. The assistant director also supervised the Information and Referral Service and provided direct service in complicated cases. Community organizers also carried direct service assignments at the Information and Referral Service and in the community. The research assistant in addition to maintaining the statistical reporting worked almost full time at the Service for three years.

The two main functions of staff were providing direct service to residents and helping them organize to improve their individual and collective lots. How the staff discharged these functions is described later in the report. Suffice it to say that the provision of direct service was a link or an advocate between the individual resident and the public or voluntary service whose help is required. Additionally short-term social service on an intensified basis was given some whose situations required it. In helping the residents organize on their own behalf staff first encouraged them to become interested in solving problems of their own selection by means of group action . . . second assisted them in their selection of priorities . . . third stayed with them throughout the process of group action so that guidance and support could be given as required.

A directly related function of staff was that of recruiting, training and directing the volunteers. Over the five year period the nine staff positions were occupied by 28 different individuals. For example, nine different individuals served as community organizers for periods ranging from three months to two years. The project had its full complement of three for only one period of eight months. For the better part of four years there were two community organizers and in the last year there was only one.

Problems in retaining staff and replacing those who resigned were due to a number of factors: the demand for trained social workers citywide far exceeded their supply; it was a seller's market. The time limited nature of the project also had adverse effects. Even though unlike so many of the poverty programs which are funded one year at a time, the project was formally set for three years and then formally extended for two years.

Another factor contributing to turnover in staff was the impact of the

community on staff: namely the enormity and multiplicity of problems, the paucity of health and welfare resources and the unrelieved and endless flow of need and deprivation. Some workers found it difficult to work in an unstructured setting, others felt frustrated because the resources of a neighborhood project obviously could not affect the underlying problems nor meet the needs of the area. As stated by one worker "we are dealing with the symptoms, not with the causes." Replacements were difficult to find as work at a neighborhood level was relatively new at the time of the project and there were few trained social workers with experience in organizing neighborhood groups to help themselves.

Patently, the short-lived periods of full staff complement, gaps in time between resignations and hiring of replacements and orientation of new staff to the community presented serious obstacles to maintaining continuity and developing certain aspects of the program.

§ 2

Functions of Volunteers

"Newspaper stories about New York's problems have a deeper meaning for me since I've been working on CAP's Information and Referral Service. It has given me a chance to participate in a small way in one attack being made on community problems. It is an experience I recommend highly." This comment was made by one of the many socially motivated individuals who contributed their services to CAP. Volunteers were used extensively as they provided a range of skills and knowledge different from those of the professional staff and performed a variety of functions which did not necessarily require training as a social worker. They made it possible for CAP to provide more services and to serve larger numbers of persons.

Who They Were

There were 127 volunteers, teen-agers and adults of diverse socio-economic background. All but 18 served in the Pilot Youth Services programs. They included 51 neighborhood residents and 76 persons from other parts of the city. There were 38 men and boys and 89 women and girls. Eighty-one were high school and college students. Fifty-eight were from seven colleges.

Recruitment

Staff encouraged residents of the neighborhood to volunteer. The Personnel Department of CSS recruited other volunteers. All volunteers prior to their assignment were interviewed at the CAP office to ascertain their interests and skills. At that time they were informed of the requirements with respect to the number of hours per week, duration of the assignment, training and supervision. A minimum of one session per week, usually three hours, service for the duration of a specific program, and attendance at training sessions were basic requirements.

Orientation and Training

Staff oriented volunteers to the overall program and the objectives and nature of the specific program in which the volunteer would be working. Volunteers from outside the neighborhood received orientation on the socio-economic characteristics of the neighborhood and its residents. For example, the 18 volunteers in the Information and Referral Service were briefed on the nature of the service, the clientele, problems most frequently presented, interviewing techniques, recording and the use of the community resource file. Particular emphasis was given to the Department of Welfare and the municipal housing agencies, and information provided on the organizational structure, policies, procedures and services. As part of the training process

volunteers observed staff in actual interviews with clients. After some experience on the job, an orientation session was conducted at the local welfare center by a member of its administrative staff so that volunteers could gain better working knowledge of the center's staff structure, size of caseload and the processing of applications and requests for service.

Although group training meetings would have been the method of choice, it was difficult to arrange more than one or two a year because of the conflicting schedules of the volunteers. In-service training for the Information and Referral Service volunteers consisted primarily of individual supervision, on-the-spot supervision and individual conferences based on review by staff of the recording of a volunteer's activities with clients.

In-service training for volunteers in the other programs included group meetings as well as individual conferences. Training sessions for volunteers involved in youth programs were generally held on a weekly basis. The content included instruction in specific program activities, discussions on the progress of the children in the various groups, problems encountered and plans for future activities.

Assignments

In the youth programs volunteers served as group leaders and provided individual tutoring in the Homework Centers. In their capacity as leaders they worked directly with groups of between eight and twelve children. In programs such as Reading for Enjoyment, Cultural Enrichment, and Pied Piper, the general outlines of the program and program media were developed by staff and discussed with volunteers in group meetings. For example, when a trip to a museum was planned, the volunteers discussed the trip in a group, under staff guidance, so that they could make the trip more inter-

esting to the children. In the Pied Piper programs the volunteers constituting the recreation team for the day met at the CAP office for orientation on the general theme for the afternoon's program, and once out on the street each leader worked with a specific group assigned to him by the CAP staff person.

In the Information and Referral Service volunteers interviewed individual clients, ascertained the problem for which help was being requested, made telephone calls to agencies to obtain needed information or to clarify the situation. They completed a variety of forms, including clothing and household replacement requests to the Department of Welfare, housing complaints and public housing applications. They translated and wrote letters for clients. In some instances volunteers escorted clients to clinics, hospitals or agencies. They recorded their activities and completed the necessary statistical forms.

Most of the cases assigned to volunteers involved requests for help with problems relating to public assistance and housing. Volunteers were alerted to refer complex situations to staff. Frequently evidence of family or child behavior problems emerged after the initial request for help with a financial assistance problem. The volunteers on the whole were sensitive to the needs of the clients and knew when to turn to staff for help.

For the majority of volunteers in the Information and Referral Service it was their first experience with real deprivation. One volunteer recounted that at a party she had heatedly refuted the statement made by a guest that no one in New York City needed to go to bed hungry. Her first-hand observation was to the contrary because of her efforts to expedite the issuance of a food allowance to a family applying for public assistance. She had also

been amazed to learn that the allowance was approximately seventy-five cents per day per person.

The requirements of each program dictated the assignment of area residents and non-residents. The Pied Piper program provided an excellent opportunity for an integrated team approach in which teen-agers, college students and adults, who were white, Negro and Puerto Rican, worked together in providing needed supervised play activities for young children. The Cooperative Play School was staffed by neighborhood mothers who saw the need for the program and the need for mothers to assist with the service. Neighborhood residents were not recruited for the Information and Referral Service as this would have posed a problem with respect to confidentiality of information given by their neighbors in seeking help from CAP.

Length of Service

Program assignments for the youth programs varied from two to nine months. The college students in these programs were most responsible for their commitments. Some of them contributed 30 hours a semester to fulfill a course requirement. Several continued beyond their course requirements.

Length of service of the 18 Information and Referral Service volunteers ranged from one month to fourteen months. Three volunteers who served for two months or less either found that the work did not come up to their expectations or were considered by staff to be unsuitable for the assignment. Eight volunteers worked three to four months and seven gave seven to fourteen months of service. Reasons for termination included pregnancy, full-time employment, time-limited assignments (five college students), involvement in other volunteer activities or loss of interest.

The Information and Referral Service presented very different conditions

of work from those in the youth programs. As this was a walk-in service, it was not possible to regulate or predict the volume of requests for help. Some days were extremely busy while others were not. With the exception of a few volunteers who gave a full day a week, most worked a half-day. During slow periods it was not always possible to substitute other activities with the result that some lost interest. Furthermore, since many requests for help with a problem could not be processed in one office visit, e.g. information from the welfare center might not be available at the time, volunteers frequently did not have the satisfaction of completing a case. This situation was also disadvantageous to the client who returned for follow-up service. Although volunteers recorded pertinent information on case situations before leaving, it was often necessary for the client to review some of the information with another volunteer.

Volunteers performed a broad range of tasks which did not require professional training and skill and made a significant contribution to the CAP program. It is important to mention that many volunteers, who did not have a college education or had not completed high school, provided numerous useful and needed services. The key factors in the success of the volunteer program were breaking down the jobs into skilled and unskilled components, determining the qualifications for the specific tasks and providing professional staff time for orientation, training and supervision. This approach to utilizing volunteers productively in a social work agency is also applicable to use of non-professional paid staff in social work and other helping professions. This is of current interest in light of the generally short supply of trained personnel and the need to open up more job opportunities for those persons who have time to give.

CHAPTER III

THE PROGRAM

Development of Neighborhood Services

In light of the specific characteristics of the CAP neighborhood, the multiplicity of problems and the paucity of neighborhood social and organizational resources two primary methods were used. The Chapter deals with the experimentation with and development of neighborhood services for families and youth. The second method, described in Chapter IV deals with the development of neighborhood organization designed to stimulate and expand action by the community on its own problems.

§ 1

The Information and Referral Service

The Information and Referral Service helped large numbers of the poorest resident families to cope with the pressures and problems of daily slum living. Information and assistance were provided by staff and volunteers in obtaining needed services from appropriate community resources. Begun as a direct service to parents of problem children in the initial phase in 1959, the program expanded under CSS auspices and was sustained until the closing of CAP.

It was essentially a forerunner of neighborhood service centers in the scope and range of its functions. The services provided were far more comprehensive and sustained than the traditional functions of information and referral because of the severe economic, social and health problems of the residents, substandard housing conditions, the shocking inadequacy of services and the general impoverishment of the neighborhood. Intervention with agencies and advocacy on behalf of residents were vital to

the task of helping low-income families to improve their living conditions and to strengthen family life. The long range objective was to obtain data on needs, existing patterns of service, the extent of their effectiveness and gaps in service, as a basis for social planning.

Experimentation with a range of functions and flexibility in staffing patterns, including the use of professional social workers, case aides and volunteers, was in keeping with the demonstration nature of the project. It was the intent to develop a body of experience on which to base recommendations on the nature of services and staffing needed to conduct ongoing programs in the CAP area and possibly similar neighborhoods.

Operation of the Service

Services were provided on a walk-in basis to residents seeking help with problems which ran the gamut from a simple request for help in filling out an application for public housing to placement of a mentally retarded child.

Information and assistance were given to enable residents to obtain help with problems of financial need, housing, child behavior, family relationships, education, health and job training. Intervention and advocacy were often needed when individuals and families experienced difficulties in obtaining needed funds and services prescribed by law. During the last year and a half short-term social service was given to families in periods of crisis until other treatment resources were available.

No appointments were required and a minimum of identifying information was requested by the receptionist before the client was seen by staff or volunteer. Effort was made to provide as much tangible assistance as possible with the problem as perceived and presented in the initial interview. Help

to the client involved ascentaining what efforts he had made to deal with his problem, what results he had achieved, giving information to him and communicating with other agencies to present his needs. Clients of the Department of Welfare were advised to take their requests to their workers, but if they had difficulty in reaching them or if action was unduly delayed, CAP intervened on their behalf.

Staff or volunteer activity with and on behalf of clients included office interviews, home visits, phone calls, letters, conferences with health and welfare agencies, schools, the Legal Aid Society, courts and other organizations. Information was provided on housing, code enforcement, rent regulations and tenant and landlord responsibilities. Assistance was given in filling out forms, filing complaints with appropriate agencies and following through on corrective action. Information was provided on legal rights and resources available in obtaining legal assistance. Some escort service to hospitals, clinics, and welfare centers was provided.

The referral process involved clearances with numerous public and voluntary agencies to ask about the availability of service and intake procedures. Continued contact with the client after the referral was necessary in some cases in order to resolve other problems or to encourage continued use of the other agency's services.

In some cases, the resources of several agencies were enlisted on behalf of the client. The staff often served in a liaison capacity between the agencies and the client in order to keep the lines of communication open and to ensure more effective service.

Residents Served

The Information and Referral Service reached the largest number of residents

in the neighborhood of any of the CAP programs. For example, 3546 clients made one or more requests for service in the period January 1, 1962 through June 1966. The total number of problems presented was 4440.

Not included are the numerous individual problems brought by others to the attention of the community organization staff in the course of their work with tenant groups, block associations and youth programs. Some of these were dealt with directly by the community organizer in the field and some were referred to the Information and Referral Service.

Consistent with the ethnic characteristics of the CAP area population, the clients were predominantly Puerto Rican and Negroes. Whites were in the minority. There was a large proportion of one-parent families, mothers with young children. Approximately 75 percent of the clients were recipients of public assistance.

Most applicants learned of the service through involvement in CAP programs or from other CAP clients, neighbors and friends. Some were referred by schools, churches and other community agencies. However, despite the fact that CAP was located on the third floor of an elevator office building during the last four years of operation, and therefore did not have the visibility of a store front location, there was an increase in the number of clients. The peak was reached in 1964. Although sometimes they did not know the name of the agency and had language difficulties, residents of the neighborhood found their way to CAP. As one client reported, a friend told her "CAP is the only place to go where they listen to you and at least try to help."

The observations of a Spanish-speaking case aide, who was not a professionally

trained social worker, presented a vivid picture of the people who made use of the service and why they came:

> "They came in general for assistance because one way or another they have failed in their own efforts in solving their problems. One of the difficulties mostly endured is the problem of cummunication (the language problem); they do not understand the people with whom they are dealing and vice-versa.
>
> "Another difficulty is the feeling of personal insufficiency. This statement is not derogatory to the people who come for assistance. This is a real feeling derived from repeated rejection and negative experiences. For example, if they think that a contact is to be made by telephone call, they would not do the telephone call themselves, even though they are able to speak, arguing that no one would listen to them. They have experienced what they are talking about because ten times before they have tried to do it themselves and no attention was paid to them. Besides when people have a continuous experience of not being able to satisfy the minimal basic needs of their family, when they are obliged to request assistance in order to be able to feed their children or to pay their rent in a house infested by rats and roaches, how can we expect them not to think that they have a substandard personal coefficient.
>
> "Their immediate environment also does not offer them any example which could help them improve their conditions. They are surrounded by an atmosphere of fright by which their will or their good intentions become inoperative because they have been destined to a situation which does not leave them any choice - crime, drug addiction, juvenile delinquency, etc. - all these social plagues contemplated with a superb indifference or suffered stoically and painfully."

Problems Presented

Delays and difficulties in obtaining service or financial assistance from the Department of Welfare constituted almost 60 per cent of the problems presented. With few exceptions these clients were in desperate financial need. In many instances the situations were urgent as there had been long delays in acting upon the family's requests for clothing or adjustments in their assistance payments to meet changes in the financial situation or family composition. Some typical situations were inability to obtain further credit for food, imminent eviction or utility shut-off and need for basic necessities such as clothing, beds and other household furnish-

ings. One baby born in January was not included in the budget until March, and no provision was made for a retroactive public assistance payment or a layette, crib and carriage. The use of bureau drawers as cribs for newborn babies was a common practice.

In another instance children had been doing their homework by candlelight for six weeks. A change in the family's allowance which had been repeatedly requested by the mother was long overdue and the electricity had been cut off. In desperation she requested CAP's intervention, and the situation was remedied by the Department of Welfare.

Since the average number of requests for help with various types of problems was close to 700 a year, instances of extreme deprivation and hardship are too numerous to list. The difficulties may be attributed to a number of factors. First and foremost is the inadequacy of the welfare payment which until July 1966 was considerably below the poverty level. For example, the Department of Welfare's basic allowance for a family of four was $2,260 a year when CSS began its work with CAP. In July 1964 it was increased to $2,433. The basic allowance remained well below the "poverty line" of $4,000 per year for a four-person family as established by the Community Council of Greater New York and the Human Resources Administration.

The preoccupation of the Department of Welfare staff with determining eligibility for assistance left little time for service. Needlessly involved and cumbersome procedures hindered rather than facilitated action on legitimate requests. There were internal administrative problems, such as chronic understaffing and consistently high rates of staff turnover which resulted in a high proportion of new, inexperienced workers and large caseloads. These difficulties were compounded by the frustrations of clients and community

agencies in attempting to communicate directly with the workers either by telephone or at the welfare center.

One example of a procedure which created great hardship for the clients and was extremely time-consuming for the Department's staff involved non-support cases in which payments were made by order of judges at the Family Court. Each time a husband failed to make the payment, the wife had to obtain proof from the court and present this to the worker before the assistance allowance could be revised. This process usually meant delays of one to three months. Some of these wives periodically requested CAP's intervention with the Welfare Center as they could no longer obtain credit or stave off the landlord. The procedure was finally revised. The families received their full allowances and the court sent the support payments directly to the Department of Welfare. This particular group of clients no longer required service from CAP.

Requests for information and assistance in registering and following through on housing complaints and in filing applications for public housing constituted the second largest category of problems presented. The complaints were about lack of heat, hot water, rats and hazardous conditions.

Other problems included physical and mental illness, parent-child relationships, child behavior, desertion, employment or job training needs and truancy or other school difficulties. Asthma affecting children and adults was one of the health problems most frequently presented. As was the need for dental care.

The table which follows summarizes the problems of the residents for a four and a half year period.

PROBLEMS PRESENTED JANUARY 1, 1962 - JUNE 30, 1966

	1962		1963		1964		1965		1966		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total Clients Served	500		730		1242		840		234		3546	
Total Problems Presented	622	100.0	836	100.0	1468	100.0	1158	100.0	356	100.0	4440	100.0
Welfare	341	54.8	538	64.4	862	58.7	669	57.8	205	57.6	2615	58.9
Housing (complaints, applications for public housing, etc.)	79	12.7	118	14.1	255	17.4	168	14.5	37	10.4	657	14.8
Employment	52	8.4	54	6.5	99	6.7	74	6.4	28	7.9	307	6.9
Family (parent-child, child behavior, desertion, marital, etc.)	76	12.2	60	7.2	92	6.3	94	8.1	36	10.1	358	8.1
Health (physical, mental and family planning)	46	7.4	44	5.2	114	7.8	122	10.5	26	7.3	352	7.9
Education and Vocation (truancy, drop-out, academic, vocational adjustment, training, etc.)	28	4.5	22	2.6	46	3.1	31	2.7	24	6.7	151	3.4

Crisis Intervention

The objective of giving short-term professional social service in time of crisis was not only to provide supportive help until appropriate referrals could be made but to gain experience in adapting social work techniques and services to the needs and life style of the very poor.

CAP clients came for help with the most pressing, immediate problems, such as threatened eviction, but frequently there were serious underlying problems such as child misbehavior, physical and mental illness, the need for job training, which the non-social work staff and volunteers did not pursue because of their lack of knowledge. When clients presented these problems they were referred by the volunteer or staff to the supervisor of the service, a professional social worker with the requisite diagnostic skill and knowledge of social agency resources. Few referrals however could be made to other agencies, particularly in emergencies, because of the paucity of agencies providing counseling, specialized functions of so many and their long waiting lists.

Unlike the counseling agencies which required scheduled appointments, the services of the supervisor were available to families on a "demand" basis, dictated by the needs and the pressures of the clients. Other families also came to her attention directly, either as walk-in clients with problems which were obviously beyond the knowledge of the paid and volunteer non-professional workers.

Just as there is no homogeneous group of the "poor," there is no homogeneous group of "multi-problem families." There was considerable variation in the nature and number of problems within a single family unit, in the parents' capacity to deal with their situations and the type and volume of service

needed. Some families seemingly were able to manage their affairs until an emergency arose. In other families there was a succession of crises involving numerous social, health and financial problems, some of which had roots in environmental pressures beyond the families' control and others stemmed from behavioral and personality problems. These families required intensive counseling. Families with latent strengths soon responded and began to function with increasing independence. In other instances families had to be seen by the supervisor frequently over a long period. There was only a small group of families who were chronically dependent on CAP for supportive services to help maintain them at a peripheral level of functioning in the community.

In several cases mothers sought help with acute financial problems and the supervisor intervened with government agencies and saw that the money problems were met. At the same time, she recognized that psychiatric treatment was indicated. The mothers' faith in the supervisor was by this time so strong that they were able to accept referral to a psychiatric facility and to accept our-patient care.

In other situations the supervisor arranged for the services of a homemaker to hold the family together when a mother was hospitalized. In still others the realistic support by the supervisor or clients with potential for independence helped them to get jobs, or increases in wages or status. Sometimes a "multi-problem" situation brought into play all the skills and resources CAP could muster. One such instance, in a family of seven children, included not only a dispossess notice and severe threat of utilities being shut off, but a divorce proceeding and a battle for the custody of the children. The supervisor dealt with the courts, the Legal Aid Society and a family counseling agency on behalf of this mother, and at the same

time gave her the opportunity to fulfill herself as a person through participation in other CAP activities, appearing before public hearings on housing problems and being active in voter registration drives. The client's own comment was that all this gave her a different feeling about herself. This mother was eventually elected to the Board of Directors of CANDI, the successor to CAP.

The Information and Referral Service contributed to the improvement of residents' living conditions and to the prevention of individual and family breakdown by facilitating the provision of needed services and entitlements and by crisis intervention. Residents were also helped to deal more effectively with their problems as a result of the information provided as to their rights and responsibilities, the resources available to them and how to make use of these. The total milieu of the CAP services, its ready accessibility in time of need, the trust and confidence extended by staff in conjunction with concrete help, had a cumulative effect in restoring feelings of self-worth and dignity.

The knowledge gained in the operation of this program of neighborhood conditions and inadequacies and gaps in services provided the stimulus and documentation for social action by resident and professional groups to improve municipal services, particularly welfare and housing. CAP served as a gadfly and watchdog in making services more responsive to residents' needs and as the advocate and spokesman for the unserved and the unaffiliated.

§ 2

Pilot Youth Service Programs

When CSS took over the sponsorship of CAP it maintained the objectives of its predecessor the Juvenile Delinquency Evaluation Project, "to accommodate additional children now outside the supervised activity without any increase in capital construction." Office space for some CAP staff continued to be provided at St. Mary's Recreation Center for a period and a variety of educational and recreational programs for children and youth were conducted there.

The goals under CSS sponsorship were: (1) to demonstrate new approaches in community services to help children with their school work and to give them social and cultural experiences, (2) to assess the children's responses, (3) to develop local resources for continuance of those services which proved successful after the termination of CAP.

CAP provided the leadership in initiating, organizing and conducting these activities on a coordinated community basis. A related goal was to involve local institutions and agencies in the process of modifying, enriching and expanding their own services. CAP engaged schools, churches and parent associations and numerous civic and service organizations in this cooperative effort. Considerable reaching out by the CAP staff to the children and parents was necessary in the initial phases of the programs.

At the same time, CAP helped the neighborhood to obtain long overdue recreational and educational facilities. A study of recreation needs in 74 neighborhoods in New York conducted in 1960 by the Community Council of Greater New York had shown that the South Bronx, which has a very large population of young children, ranked as the third neediest neighborhood. Public recreation facilities were insufficient and there was only one settlement house in the area.

The South Bronx was one of the three districts in the city in the greatest need of additional schools and while an attack on tutoring and related programs was required, the more basic attack was on how to help the neighborhood obtain sufficient classroom space so that each child might have a full day of school instruction. (See Chapter IV §§ 4.)

None of the three elementary schools in the CAP area with a combined enrollment of 4500 children, had an after-school recreation program. The CAP Neighborhood Advisory Committee, carried over from the initial phase of the project, appointed a subcommittee to initiate steps to obtain such programs. Members discussed the need with the District Supervisor of the Bureau of Community Education of the Board of Education. As a result, several months later, when the school district received funds for one additional after-school program, a school serving the CAP area was selected.

Reading for Enjoyment

CAP continued this program begun by the Juvenile Delinquency Evaluation Project. Two Reading for Enjoyment programs were conducted in the summer of 1962; one co-sponsored with St. Ann's Episcopal Church,

the other in cooperation with St. Mary's Recreation Center. A total of 186 children were enrolled in the programs and sessions were held twice a week. Under training and supervision by CAP staff the groups were led by 17 volunteers. Eleven were college students recruited by CSS and six were recruited by St. Ann's. The experiment focused exclusively on reading in one program and, in the second, on how to stimulate children to read. Attendance at the reading program was irregular and sporadic. The reading level was low in relation to school grade and it was difficult to maintain interest. While the volunteers maintained regular attendance of two afternoons a week because they had a sense of personal commitment, they were discouraged with the results. One volunteer however reported, "From the first session, it seemed to me that the most satisfying outcome of the program to me personally would be the knowledge that I had managed to make one, or maybe two children aware of the delights available in books." Attendance in the second program was more sustained. The emphasis on music, dramatics, story telling, word games and trips stimulated an interest in the reading of stories and then in wanting to take books home for reading. Both programs related to the children's own life experiences.

Cultural Enrichment Program

This, the Homework Centers and Truant Program described below were begun in the fall of 1962. Their initiation was endorsed by the Assistant Superintendent of the school district. For the school years of 1962 and 1963 approximately 50 under-achieving children from the fourth and fifth grades of P.S. 27 were selected by teachers with the consent of parents, to participate in the Cultural Enrichment

Program. It was planned and supervised by staff. Groups conducted by volunteer college students and comprised of about twelve children each met weekly. The children responded well. They liked the college students because they gave them individualized attention and encouragement. The program itself included dramatics, crafts, music and trips. As far as possible these activities were related to the subjects the children were studying in school. For example when the children were studying the history of New York, they built exhibits of transportation and historic landmarks in preparation for a visit to the Museum of the City of New York. Its purpose was to contribute toward self-confidence and improved functioning by involving the children in activities through which they could gain a sense of achievement and by exposing them to a variety of cultural experiences. The program was also directed, with uneven results, toward developing greater understanding and interest of the parents in their children's activity and progress at school. This was done through meetings with parents and through home visits by staff and volunteers to follow up when children were absent from the program. Children were encouraged to discuss their activities and their school work with their parents and were often given projects to complete at home with the purpose of further involving the parents.

It is not possible to say what impact these programs had on school performance. Personnel of the Board of Education and members of the Neighborhood Advisory Committee remained enthusiastic; perhaps because of the extent of the cultural deprivation of the neighborhood.

Homework Centers

Few overcrowded homes in the neighborhood provided a quiet place for school children to do their homework; few parents were able to help with algebra, French or English. Therefore a Homework Center at Junior High School 149 was developed by CAP with the active participation of the Parents Association, a steering committee of students, personnel of the school and the Bureau of Community Education. Facilities of the school were made available after hours two afternoons a week. Staff supervised college students who volunteered tutorial services. Parents volunteered in checking homework and hearing recitations.

Even more meaningful than the actual tutoring of the children were the individualized attention and personal interest they received from the parents and college students. Over the two year period attendance increased per afternoon from 15 to as high as 50 students. The school principal believed that there were important values in this program. It gave the good students, who were atypical in this neighborhood, an opportunity to feel less isolated and "different." It gave them a sense of belonging because they were with their peers in an atmosphere that was positive in attitude toward school.

As a result of the two year experience the Bureau of Community Education agreed to the request of CAP's Neighborhood Advisory Committee to assign a teacher for one additional afternoon a week during the next school year beginning in September 1964. Had the plan gone through the CAP Homework Center would have expanded to three afternoons a week. However, as the Board of Education instituted an extensive program of after-school study centers, including all the schools in the area, the Board's program replaced the CAP program.

At the request of two churches CAP also instituted tutoring programs with staff providing supervision and volunteers and the churches providing the space. These programs were conducted in the evening hours in order to accommodate students who worked afternoons or who might want help beyond that available during the day. However, attendance did not come up to that of the program held in the school. CAP withdrew in 1964 and the churches found it difficult to assign staff or volunteer time to continue this program independently. Evidence that these homework programs held appeal for the neighborhood is in the fact that at least four churches initiated programs with the aid of anti-poverty funds in the summer of 1965.

Truant Project

CAP conducted a small exploratory project with ten boys for six months beginning in November 1962. A group of 7th and 8th grade truants was referred by Junior High School 149. The purpose was to obtain reasons for truanting as perceived by the boys, to learn the social factors in the home and family situations and whether intervention through a group approach would improve attendance patterns. Eight of the ten boys came from homes in which there were multiple family problems, including the absence of the father. With one exception, the boys had no clear plans with respect to either their educational or vocational futures. Their attendance at group meetings was not sustained. Some temporary gains were made in attendance patterns at school by a few. It was found, however, that the pathology of the boys in this group was severe and required a far more intensive and protracted period of counseling than CAP was equipped to undertake.

Pied Piper Program

In a neighborhood where many children are kept at home by their parents who fear the streets and possible undesirable companions, CAP volunteers and staff became "pied pipers" to entice the youngsters outdoors. Five days a week during July and August 1963 a team of six to eight volunteers and the chief Pied Piper, a staff member, left the office with a shopping cart containing brown paper, chalk, crayons and other equipment and wended its way through the neighborhood to designated play street of the day. Within a few minutes of their arrival, the relatively empty street underwent a startling change. Youngsters ranging from 6 to 14 years suddenly appeared and eagerly surrounded the staff. Within a few minutes 60 to 75 children were organized into small groups, assigned to a volunteer and became engrossed in making costumes for a safari to some distant land or playing games on the street. Mothers watched happily from the windows of their apartments. Having gained the interest and confidence of the mothers and children, the "pied pipers" led the children to the nearby park and two recreation centers for other games and activities.

The success of the Pied Piper Program, in which some 400 to 500 children participated during the course of the summer, was made possible by the participation of 28 volunteers as well as the cooperation of the Parks Department, St. Mary's Recreation Center, the Bureau of Community Education and the Burger Community Center. The composition of the volunteer group was a most inspiring example of unanimity of commitment to service in the interest of a community by individuals of diverse ethnic backgrounds, age and place of residence. College students from different parts of the city worked together with mothers and junior and high school students living in the neighborhood. Each group learned

from the other as well as from the experience in serving others.

Cooperative Play School

One outgrowth of CAP's block organization program on East 147th Street was a cooperative play school. In response to the mothers' desires for supervised play for their children in the summer of 1963 a playschool was held two mornings a week in St. Mary's Park for 15 children, four to eight years of age. It was staffed by four 147th Street mothers under the supervision of a staff member. In addition to the play activities, there were trips to the Bronx Zoo and to the Statue of Liberty.

Career Conference

A major obstacle to the progress for young people in the neighborhood was the lack of vocational motivation. Many adults were unemployed, and few held jobs that were financially or personally rewarding. Many children grew up without having seen their parents hold jobs of any kind. They saw too few members of minority groups in positions of respect and responsibility. Their knowledge of vocational opportunities was limited, and consequently their educational and vocational aspirations were also limited.

As this situation was a concern to all, CAP initiated discussions in the spring of 1964 with Junior High School 149 and 14 organizations and agencies representing community groups and citywide organizations. The result, an all-day Neighborhood Career Conference, held on a Saturday and attended by over 300 students and 30 parents. Co-sponsors included Junior High School 149, its Parents Association and Student General Organization, the Bureau of Community Education, Federation Employment and Guidance Service, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Urban League, Mott Haven Reform Church, B'nai B'rith Franklin Lodge, Congregational Church of North New York, East Side House,

Willis Avenue Methodist Church, Bronx Family Service Center of CSS and CAP.

The program was designed to alert the students to the variety of career opportunities available to them and the required education and training for each occupation. The Commissioner of Relocation made a keynote address in which he traced his rise to his present high public office, stressing the fact that his Puerto Rican origin did not limit his progress. This was followed by panel discussions. Twenty-two successful men and women, white, Negro and Puerto Rican, discussed their own fields of employment and answered detailed questions for small groups of youngsters. Among these panelists were an actor, an engineer, nurses, physicians, an airline stewardess, and others in the fields of journalism, beauty culture, commercial art, science, education, auto repair, office work and law enforcement. Following the conference, each panelist invited his group to visit him where, for example, a tour of an airport, auto repair shop, hospital and other places of business, provided a view of the particular occupation in operation.

The school faculty members were impressed with the conference which they saw as a valuable adjunct to the school's vocational guidance program and in no sense a duplication of effort. Parents appeared to have a positive feeling about the interest of school personnel in their children's educational and vocational future. Many expressed the opinion that the conference had given their children a better idea of future careers and had broadened their horizons. Under the direction of East Side House, the sponsoring committee initially organized by CAP has maintained its interest in continuing projects which would raise the educational and vocational aspirations of junior high school students and has been working with New York University toward this objective.

3

The Summer Resident Camp Program

The development of an extensive camp placement program was an important aspect of CAP's efforts to expand recreational opportunities for the children of the neighborhood. The Community Service Society financed the program in entirety in the amount of $148,431. Camp vacation for 2,126 children and mothers were made possible for the five year period 1962 through 1966.

Camp vacations had been virtually unknown to the neighborhood before 1962. No agency in the neighborhood operated a camp outside the city. Referral to citywide camping services was extremely limited.

Camp vacations were offered for two or four week periods. Schools, churches and youth service agencies enthusiastically welcomed CAP's initiation of a centralized camp intake and funds for campers. They referred without delay to CAP. However, the residents were slow to respond because the idea was new to them. For the first year, publicity and interpretation were required to "sell" the idea of camp to parents and children. Posters and flyers were placed in neighborhood stores and CAP youngsters distributed flyers from door to door. Parents unfamiliar with the supervision provided at camps were reluctant to send their children away from home and children were fearful of leaving their known environment for the unknowns of the country. Interviews were held with the parents and children to interpret the program and pictures of camp facilities and activities were shown. Staff visited parents who failed to follow through on registration.

The enrollment period was extended several times during the first summer until 244 boys and girls finally were registered. It was therefore gratifying to CAP to listen to the enthusiastic comments from the children on their

return and their requests to register for the next summer. Equally gratifying was the reaction of the parents. A meeting was held early in the fall of 1962 with the parents of campers and their pleasure was obvious. Their children had been taken to summer theatres, concerts and places of historical interest. Their children had learned the value of such routines as bed making, regularly scheduled meals and early lights out.

CAP received reports from the camps on many campers. The children were most impressed by such new experiences as nature study, swimming, cook-outs, taking care of baby chicks, overcoming their fears of toads and other animals and last but not least, by the type and amount of food. For children who had so little, three meals a day and variety in the diet were both unusual and wonderful.

The camp program progressed. Each succeeding year the demand exceeded the allotted space. The response to registration was much faster, with the result that increasingly larger quotas each year were filled within a month or six weeks after registration was announced. There were waiting lists of 125 and over. Placements increased from 244 children in 1962 to well over 400 campers in 1966.

How the Program was Operated

The camp placement program was staffed by a social worker on a seasonal part-time basis, later assisted by a case aide. The registration interview with children and parents was of crucial importance in assigning children to the camps that would best suit their needs. As CAP did not have a year-round relationship with most of the children, it was essential to obtain sufficient information about the child, his stage of development, his interests and potential for adjustment to camp in one or two interviews. The assignment

process also required first-hand knowledge of the specific program emphases of the different camps. Prior to the enrollment process, negotiations were made with various camps for the number of children from the CAP area for whom spaces would be reserved. The number of camps used ranged in number from seven to twenty-one. While all camps met accepted standards of facilities, program, staff supervision and health care, the CAP camp staff visited the camps during the course of the summer for the purpose of maintaining current reports on their programs and on the adjustment of the campers. Staff were also on hand for departure of campers and on their return to the city. Conscious effort was made to simplify the administration of the program and to hold expenditures at a level which would be realistic should it eventually be taken over by the neighborhood.

Community agencies fully cooperated. For example, the local health station provided space for medical examinations, given by a local physician at CAP expense. Staff developed procedures with the welfare center for families receiving financial assistance so that camp clothing allowances were expedited and children would not be delayed from their scheduled departure for camp.

Who the Campers Were

Over half the children sent to camp were from families receiving financial assistance from the Department of Welfare; the rest were from families whose income was very low. More than half had no father in the home. Over the five year period decisions as to payment of camp fees by the family were made in accordance with ability to pay, based on criteria established by the Community Service Society with respect to income, size of family and number of children sent to camp. However with the exception of three families one summer, no one was able to pay.

The number of boys sent to camp each year was consistently higher than the girls, the ratio being approximately three to two. While special efforts were made to recruit teen-agers, the majority of the campers were between eight and twelve years of age. The ethnic distribution of the campers population remained fairly consistent: 50% Puerto Rican, 43% Negro and 7% white. Several camps were especially interested in having children of minority groups and worked closely with the CAP staff to make camp a good experience for them. For example, the counselors of one camp who came primarily from mid-western colleges, spent a day in the CAP area as part of their training before the camping season. For the older teen-agers, several camps were used in which the children were generally of middle-class background. Most of the placements at these camps worked out well and in a few instances led to summer camp jobs for CAP children.

During the first four summers family camping for 32 mothers and their children was provided. The mothers, mostly with large families, were all recipients of financial assistance from the welfare center. Of the eight mothers sent to family camp with their children in 1965, four were accompanied by four to eight children. Relieved of household chores and the supervision and care of their children, these mothers were free to participate in arts and crafts programs, discussion groups, folk dancing and other recreational activities. The comments were: "It was great," "It was the best time I ever had."

The Future of the Camp Program

For most of the children camp was an exhilarating experience. It provided opportunity for many new social, cultural and physical experiences, the acquisition of new skills and relationships with children and young adults of differing backgrounds, interests and aspirations. Some children

inevitably found it difficult to adjust to group living. In some cases the staff of camps was not completely attuned to working with children from such a deprived neighborhood.

Camp reports frequently cited health deficiencies, the need for dental care and educational retardation. Follow up on the potentialities as well as the problems of campers was clearly indicated but could only be carried out to a limited extent because of insufficient staff on a year-round basis. That the program was effective is attested by parents, clergy, educators and other professional persons concerned with the welfare of the youth in the area. As each of the summers drew to a close, community leaders expressed their relief that there had been no outbreak of violence in the South Bronx. The captain of the local police precinct commended CAP and other agencies for their summer programs which provided constructive activities for youth

In recognition of the program's effectiveness and also of the absence of any local sponsor to take it over, CSS will continue to underwrite the costs of camping through the summer of 1969.

CHAPTER IV

THE PROGRAM

Development of Neighborhood Organization

This Chapter describes efforts and methods of staff to mobilize residents, leaders, professionals and organizations to tackle the problems of the neighborhood. The involvement of residents on their own behalf in group action was a basic objective of CAP in the five year period under CSS sponsorship. Organization of residents included tenant groups, block organizations and an area committee. Efforts included the strengthening of the Neighborhood Advisory Committee and the South Bronx Community Council and the formation of the CAP Interagency Committee.

§ 1

The Neighborhood Advisory Committee

This committee was organized in December 1959 for the purpose of developing neighborhood support for the Juvenile Delinquency Evaluation Project. The Committee was continued under CSS sponsorship of CAP. It numbered about 26 community leaders, representatives of community organizations, churches, schools and health and welfare agencies. The Committee maintained a continuity of membership throughout the life of CAP. While some members lived in the general area, it was not until the terminal year that some residents from the target population became members. That year membership was increased to 36. While in name an advisory group the committee actually served in many ways as a board of directors.

The Committee over the years met regularly on a monthly basis. It assisted in carrying out the CAP objectives by appointing program and social action sub-committees. It promoted cooperation and coordination

among organizations, schools and churches having a concern for the neighborhood and its residents. It served as the spokesman for the neighborhood in communicating its needs and problems to the South Bronx Community Council. Thus the Committee developed broader community support for dealing with the neighborhood's problems.

2

Organization of Resident Groups

Techniques used in helping the residents of the neighborhood to organize were: (1) reaching out of staff to the unaffiliated by talking to residents on the streets, knocking on doors, including residents in CAP's service programs; (2) involving of the residents in selection of problems to be tackled.

The segment of the neighborhood reached was at the lowest economic level. For most this was their first experience in group action. The groups were composed chiefly of women. Common concerns were the "bread and butter" issues of public assistance, housing and neighborhood problems such as safety of children, prevalence of drug addicts, theft, violence and the need for more police protection. The improvement of housing conditions was a major focus of activity of all of the groups.

The Tenants Groups

These groups were organized on a building-by-building basis for the specific and sole purpose of improving the conditions of housing. Housing complaints received by the Information and Referral Service often provided the base for organizing tenants in a building. Staff arranged meetings between tenants and landlords. Where landlords were unwilling to meet with their tenants, staff assisted with the filing of complaints with the Department of Buildings and the Rent and Rehabilitation Administration. Often, however, the

landlords failed to correct violations or to appear in court. In some cases the Rent and Rehabilitation Administration ruled that rent be reduced to one dollar a month; in some instances these cases dragged on for months with tenants becoming even more discouraged. Reduction in rent offered little consolation in the face of chronic lack of heat and water, falling ceilings and other hazardous conditions. It was also discouraging for a tenant to learn that after months of deplorable living conditions and protracted failures of the landlord to appear in court, the final decision was a minimal fine. As imposition of a fine did not necessarily result in correction of conditions, tenants lost faith in the administration of code enforcement. Tenants who could afford it frequently moved from the neighborhood. Difficulties in improving housing added to the process of making the neighborhood a ghetto of the poor.

Despite the frustrations group action was effective in improving substandard housing conditions in numerous instances.

Block Organization

In the initial phase of CAP there had been an attempt to organize the neighborhood block by block. The initiation of too many activities in response to the outpouring of problems proved to be too ambitious a task for a small staff to sustain along with its numerous other activities. When CSS assumed sponsorship its efforts were unsuccessful in involving residents who had previously been active in block organization.

The 147th Street Block Association

Block organization was given a fresh start in the Spring of 1963. It was decided that it would be more realistic to work first with one block. Two staff members were assigned part-time. The block chosen was 147th Street, between Willis and Brook Avenues, and was representative of the more depressed sections of the neighborhood.

representative of the more depressed sections of the neighborhood. The purpose was to test the potentials for developing an informal organization on both sides of the street which would facilitate contact between neighbors in need of help and neighbors who could provide help. Staff would shed any pre-conceived notions of organizational structure and function. The focus would be on immediate, everyday problems. Staff would seek to locate "resource people" on the block who were willing to help their neighbors. These residents would then receive orientation and information on such subjects as housing, public assistance, health. Staff would also seek to identify those problems which might be remedied by group action.

There were approximately 1,600 persons living in twenty-six multiple dwellings in 449 apartments in old-law tenements. Rentals ranged from $35 to $125 per month with seemingly little relationship to the condition of the building. In the middle of the block were two small factories, a garage, a gas station and a privately owned empty lot littered with discarded furniture and other trash.

Sixty-three families were visited in eighteen buildings. Forty-six were Puerto Rican, twelve white and five Negro. The Puerto Ricans were newcomers to the block and were viewed by their neighbors as being responsible for the deterioration and social ills of the neighborhood. The fact that the block was the "turf" of an active gang of Puerto Rican youth served to reinforce this impression, despite the fact that the Puerto Rican families themselves were also in fear of the gang and would have liked to move away if at all possible.

If there was any communication among residents, it was primarily within the same building. Tenants however identified each other more frequently by

apartment number than by name. In addition to the concern about poor housing conditions which was general, the concerns expressed were fear of gangs, lack of safe play areas for children, dirty streets, particularly in the summer when empty beer cans and ababdoned stolen cars were much in evidence.

Staff review and analysis of the information obtained from the home visits led to a change in the plan to develop indigenous "resource people" to help their neighbors. Rather the block would be organized to take action on specific projects. It was important that the first project undertaken be one which would have a reasonable chance of success within a short time. Thus the general feelings of helplessness and pessimism might be counteracted and the group might begin to develop confidence in the potentialities of group action.

The criteria used in helping the group set priorities were that the problem be one of expressed concern, that the task be susceptible of being dealt with on the neighborhood level and that the residents of the block be involved in the task.

The Puerto Ricans were most responsive and expressed a willingness to become involved in a group effort. However, doing anything about their situation seemed to them almost beyond the realm of possibility. The first group meeting was attended by twelve women residents of the block. Their decision was that the needs of the children be given top priority, specifically the need for a school crossing guard and supervised recreation during the summer. Assisted by the staff member, a group of the mothers presented the need for a crossing guard to the school principal. Following the procedure outlined by him the group circulated a petition on the block, the results of which

were then presented to the captain of the police precinct. A policeman was assigned during school hours as a result of group action.

Encouraged by their first success, the group and staff worked out a plan for the cooperative summer play school for pre-school children described earlier in the report. The mothers obtained from the Parks Department the use of facilities and CAP provided supervision and supplies. Four mothers served as volunteers. The block was also chosen as one of the streets to be served by the CAP Pied Piper program, described earlier in the report.

A Spanish-speaking staff member worked full time on the block for about a year. The program was broadened to include educational meetings, social events and action on other block concerns. In a little over a year the number of active members grew from the original twelve to fifty-five. The organizational structure was stabilized with meetings held on a regular weekly basis.

While membership was ostensibly open to all residents of the block, the composition of the group remained entirely Puerto Rican. The group was diversified including both the employed and public assistance recipients, members of intact families as well as unwed and separated mothers. While evening functions such as the educational meetings and social affairs were attended by both men and women, the women constituted the leaders and the active participants. Officers were elected and several committees set up. The officers were women whose husbands were employed. At the educational meetings, representatives of public and voluntary agencies in the fields of housing, employment, education and human rights provided much needed information and reassurance that their services were available. These

meetings, combined with the work of staff with individuals and families on the block resulted in fuller use of existing resources. Several residents obtained jobs, housing activity was stepped up and staff obtained scholarships for two promising youngsters. In the case of a family receiving public assistance, a girl of 18, oldest of six children, whose mother was in a mental institution and whose father was at home caring for the children, obtained employment in a pharmacy as a result of referral to an employment and guidance service. She was also encouraged to continue with her education and she enrolled for special courses at night in order to qualify for a school of nursing. Her 17 year old brother was one of the two scholarship students.

The group also conducted a building survey, apartment-by-apartment on the block. Tenants were informed of their rights and responsibilities, were helped to participate in group action on their complaints, first with the landlord and then with municipal departments if necessary. Instructions, in English and Spanish, were developed which aided in the preparation of complaints to the Department of Buildings. Two hundred complaints were formally transmitted during an eleven-month period from the tenants on this block.

Social events met a very real need which had frequently been expressed by the residents. They contributed to the development of a more neighborly feeling, provided an incentive for people to get dressed up and improve their physical appearance. These and the educational meetings exerted a subtle influence on the behavior patterns of some of the residents. One person was heard to express her pleasurable surprise at the sober and proper behavior of some of her neighbors who had been known as "drinkers."

CAP's activity with this particular block extended for 15 months and culminated in a highly successful block clean-up campaign, in which approximately two hundred adults, teenagers and children participated. Interest was stimulated by a poster contest for the children and a parade along East 147th Street. The Sanitation Department provided a sound truck and additional pick-up service for the debris received from the refuse ridden empty lot and other sections of the street.

The five officers and other leaders moved from the neighborhood by the end of the summer of 1964. Their participation in community activity was a factor in acceptance of some as tenants in public housing. The loss of the leadership group, the resignation of the CAP worker and the inability to obtain a replacement brought the effort to an end. Residents, however, continued to use the Information and Referral Service and the camp placement program.

The 141st Street Mothers' Group

In the fall of 1964 CAP assigned a worker part-time to a second block. The work, however, on 141st Street with a group of mothers residing in rundown tenements was mainly on one side of the street. There was no communication with the residents on the other side because of social and economic differences. That side consisted of brownstones, low brick buildings of the two- and three-family type, a junior high school and a church.

The following describes the techniques used by the worker in mobilizing the group:

> My approach in coming to this area and getting to know the people was first to visit the homes of a few parents whose children had been sent to camp by CAP. It was not possible to make appointments in advance since these people do not have telephones. I found when I knocked on the door and

announced that I was from CAP, that there was a very ready welcome, and a willingness to talk with me. One resident would give me the name of another resident and this is how I began. Eventually after having met two or three people in the house, I would knock on other doors or allow a child to bring me in to meet his mother. I also began to talk with people whom I met in the street. Since most of the time the weather was warm most of these people were out on the street and would engage in conversation with me. Sometimes I would have two, three and four women involved in discussion. On one occasion a woman was sitting on top of an automobile. I joined her and in a very short time there were five or six women standing around and talking with me about their problems.

They were willing to talk with me about what the community could do as a group to improve some of the conditions they were living with. But it was apparent that their willingness to work in a group was their need to get involved with me in the solution of personal problems. I found that the helping of people with their individual problems was very important in establishing my role in the community as a person who could be trusted, and I think the willingness to come into a group was based on the particular fact that they received help with these problems.

With the assistance of CAP the mothers formed a group which met weekly in a room provided by the minister of the Willis Avenue Methodist Church on the other side of the street. They were Negro and were receiving public assistance. The families ranged from three to ten young children whose fathers were absent from the home. Of a membership of 20, weekly attendance ranged from seven to ten. The problems enumerated by the group were common to all the neighborhood, difficulties with the welfare center, prevalence of drug addicts and "pushers," insufficient child care facilities, police protection and sanitation services.

The mothers were concerned that the Department of Welfare was paying such high rents for inadequate housing that if they found jobs they could not pay the rents. This made the prospect of getting off relief even more hopeless. A large low-cost housing project was opening across the avenue from them and many of them had applied for apartments because they wanted cheaper rents and better living conditions. At the time CAP's work on

this block began, the mothers had received no response from the Housing Authority other than the routine acknowledgment of the application. They spoke bitterly of themselves as the "ineligibles" in their awareness that mothers without husbands are not welcome in the projects. They seemed ready to take some action.

After several meetings and much ventilation of feelings, they invited the manager of the new housing project to speak about eligibility requirements. As they were not satisfied with what he said they then wrote to the Chairman of the New York City Housing Authority who referred the request to the Inter-group Relations Division.

With the help of the CAP worker, follow-up with this Division yielded specific reasons why some persons were unlikely to get into public housing. They included patterns of irregular rent payments, or unstable family composition at the time of application. The Division requested additional information from the applicants. Based on that, one family was finally accepted. It was helpful to some to receive definite answers on the status of their applications, even if they were negative. At least they were dignified by a reply, and might look for better quarters now that public housing was not possible.

Because the worker spent four-fifths of her time in the Information and Referral Service, her effort on behalf of the mothers was of necessity limited. The group remained small in contrast to the more fully staffed 147th Street block organization. In addition to the weekly meetings the worker's relationship with individual members of the group was maintained by their visits to the Service with requests for help with specific personal problems.

For most of the women the meetings, from one o'clock until three in the afternoon, were time away from their daily chores and burdens, and a relief from the demands of the children. They relaxed, expressed their frustrations and anger in trying to meet the barest necessities of life on a relief budget. During the meetings a CAP volunteer cared for the children in another room of the church. Their problems with "welfare" were uppermost. The worker therefore conducted discussions on the basic and specific rights and responsibilities of the public assistance recipient, budgets, and the administrative structure of the Department of Welfare. She provided consumer information on how to stretch the welfare dollar.

The Mothers' Group with leaders from the Area Committee participated actively with other community groups in a voter resignation drive and in a public hearing held prior to the elections. Members staffed a desk at the local welfare center for voter registration. They participated in the planning of the public hearing which was attended by 500 residents of the community, and they made individual presentations of the needs of the neighborhood at the hearing. They also joined with a Lincoln Hospital Neighborhood Service Center in meeting with the Administrative Assistant of the local welfare center to present problems in dealing with the center.

The Group continued to be active until the close of CAP. It is important to say that while the group remained small in number, members as individuals gained a great deal. Two of its members were elected to the South Bronx Community Committee of the New York Council Against Poverty, another to the Board of Directors of CANDI, the successor agency to CAP, and several obtained employment with some of the anti-poverty programs in the South Bronx.

Area Committee

In the fall of 1964 CAP organized an Area Committee for the purpose of developing a group which would be representative of the CAP neighborhood as a whole as distinct from block organization. A worker was assigned full time to this effort. He reached out to residents known to CAP and also to residents who had not been known. Its membership of thirty-three was more diversified than that of the two block associations. It included both men and women, both public assistance recipients and employed persons, both Negroes and Puerto Ricans. A few had some previous organizational experience, either in CAP programs or other community groups, but most had no group experience. The basic approach with this committee was to ascertain common concerns as the residents saw them. Of the many neighborhood problems which the members discussed, the Committee decided to focus on police protection, public welfare and housing.

As fears for the personal safety of children and adults was one of the most frequently expressed concerns of numerous groups in the community, the Area Committee arranged for a neighborhood meeting in an effort to develop better communication between the residents and the police. At the meeting the captain of the local precinct encouraged residents to report incidents to the police and discussed problems presented by the residents. Unfortunately, attendance was poor, in part due to inclement weather. For whatever the reason the Committee did not follow up on the issue.

Another neighborhood meeting was held at which the District Director of the City's Rent and Rehabilitation Administration informed residents of that department's functions and encouraged fuller use of its services. The 141st Street Mothers' Group worked with the Area Committee on housing problems

since some of its members were active in organizing tenant groups in their buildings. A subcommittee, on which both the Area Committee and the Mothers' Group were represented, visited the Landlord-Tenant Part of the Civil Court as part of their own education in code enforcement procedures.

During the Department of Welfare strike in January 1965, the Area Committee, again with the help of the Mothers' Group, sent a petition with more than 200 signatures to the Mayor requesting that he use his influence to bring the strike to an end. The Committee also sent a letter to the Commissioner of Welfare, stating their concerns about welfare services and offering suggestions for improvement. The letter was signed by approximately 150 residents of the area. The Commissioner's detailed response to their letter provided relevant information as a basis for follow-up activity with the local welfare center on practices which had created hardships for some of the residents.

A small nucleus of the Area Committee was active but attendance of the other members at meetings, which were held in the evenings, was sporadic. While Committee members were able to reach large numbers of residents on specific activities, such as obtaining signatures on petitions and letters, they found it difficult to recruit new members. Much of the housing and public assistance activity between meetings was carried out by members of the Mothers' Group. Following the resignation of the community organizer assigned to the Area Committee, the leadership of the committee merged with the Mothers' Group in the summer of 1965 and continued to take an active part in community activities.

§ 3

CAP Interagency Committee

In February of 1964 on CAP's initiative the representatives of thirteen

public and voluntary health and welfare agencies serving the South Bronx formed the CAP Interagency Committee. The purpose was to review the experiences of CAP's Information and Referral Service, as a beginning step in planning for the kind of resources that would be needed to replace the services developed by CAP on termination of the project. The Committee's experience confirmed CAP's finding that the most pervasive problem was the difficulty of public assistance recipients in obtaining allowances and services. The agencies spent so much time in helping clients deal with their immediate financial needs that it was difficult to engage them in therapeutic and rehabilitative services until their financial needs were met.

The Committee also confirmed CAP's findings on the high incidence of social and health problems and the paucity of services to meet them. Not only were the number and range of services inadequate, but existing agencies were understaffed, with resulting waiting lists. Clients delayed in seeking help until the distress was acute. It was frequently impossible to obtain help on an emergency basis from the overtaxed agencies.

The Committee first addressed itself to alleviating the undue hardships of large numbers of public assistance recipients. Several conferences were held with the administrative personnel of the local welfare center to develop cooperative efforts for improvement in services and to delineate more clearly those problems amenable to action locally and those which required the attention of central administration.

The Committee then met with the Commissioner and the First Deputy Commissioner of the Department of Welfare. Discussion was based on a statement prepared by the Committee. Appended to the statement was a case history

from the Bronx Family Service Center of CSS which showed the amount of time a caseworker had to spend helping the client who needed financial assistance from the Department of Welfare and a statistical summary of public assistance problems received by CAP's Information and Referral Service for the calendar year 1964.

The statement outlined five problems with suggested solutions: increased telephone service in the local welfare center; improvement of waiting room facilities and greater use of them for interpreting the regulations for public assistance; implementation of current policy with respect to emergency assistance; liberalization of policies governing supplementary assistance; attack on the problems of staff turnover in the South Bronx and other economically depressed areas. With respect to the last mentioned problem the following is an extract from the statement presented to the Commissioner.

> We recommend a differential as to size of caseloads for Welfare Centers serving such areas as the South Bronx. We believe caseloads may, for example, need to be smaller in areas such as the South Bronx than, say, in the Tremont area, where the clientele is composed of a great proportion of elderly and lesser proportion of young families with very complex problems and needs. We wonder whether any attention has been given in areas such as Melrose to the allocation of families to individual investigator caseloads in a manner to provide more balance in the type of situations assigned. We suggest flagging certain cases for special supervisory attention. This device would help to ensure that especially needy clients receive the full quality and quantity of assistance described in your manual. Example of such cases might be situations in which there is a pregnant or ill family member.
>
> We believe there may need to be a greater proportion of clerical staff in centers such as Melrose. Here budget changes are frequent. An increase in clerical staff could facilitate the arithmetic required and remove this pressure from the investigator.
>
> We do not see the need to wait for the results of Kingsbridge Welfare Center's research on certain matters. The Moreland Commission's report and extensive experience already point up the desirability to streamline and simplify paperwork. We suggest introducing immediately, into such centers as Melrose, an increase of clerical staff, increase

> in mechanization equipment and adoption of procedures to speed up the processing of requests for changes, in order to release investigator time. We wonder what can be done about reducing the levels of approval required for certain decisions. We recommend making certain grants automatic for families on public assistance over a period of time. Example of this: automatic school clothing grants. This would facilitate meeting needs of welfare clients in a timely manner. This would also make the investigator's task less laborious. We would like to see 'decision making' and 'individualization' confined to matters where it will be productive and reduced where it is restrictive.

The Commissioner concurred with the Committee in viewing increased staffing and reduction of staff turnover as crucial to the improvement of welfare services. The Committee was impressed with the Commissioner's knowledge of the conditions and problems in the South Bronx and his respect for the Committee's concern. However, it was also apparent that the need for the city to conform to the requirements set by the State Department of Social Welfare and the federal government with respect to size of caseload and the policy relating to supplementation of earnings and the very magnitude of the New York City Welfare Department itself complicated and slowed down the process of instituting changes.

The Commissioner made a strong plea for Department of Welfare involvement in social planning on a community level and for the development of greater community understanding and support for the Welfare Department's program. As a direct result of this meeting a representative of the local welfare center was designated to serve on the Interagency Committee. His participation proved helpful in improving mutual understanding of the public and voluntary agencies in the South Bronx.

In summary, the Committee strengthened relationships between the local welfare center and the other agencies. The Committee was the first group from the South Bronx to have met with the Commissioner of Welfare to register

concern for the level of public assistance and the plight of recipients. The Committee added a new dimension to the neighborhood's resources for dealing with its problems. The responsiveness of members to CAP's initiative in suggesting the formation of a committee confirmed that CAP had correctly assessed the potentiality and readiness of the health and social welfare agencies to take an active role in improving the social and economic conditions of the area.

§ 4

Cooperative Action with the South Bronx Community Council

The South Bronx Community Council, organized in the 1930's, has a long record of service to the larger community in which the neighborhood is located. CAP as an agency, and individual members of the Neighborhood Advisory Committee were active members of the Council which was the planning and coordinating body for the South Bronx. As the Council was the organized voice of the larger community, CAP made a decision to strengthen the Council in an effort to effect allocation of resources on behalf of the neighborhood. CAP staff and its Committee members were leaders in the work of the Council.

The Schools Committee

Severe school overcrowding and the prevalence of double and triple sessions had been matters of grave concern to the community and the administration of the school district for many years. Split sessions meant one hour of instruction less per day, the equivalent of two months during the school year. Many children were deprived of as much as a year to a year and a half of elementary school preparation at the point of entering junior high school.

In November 1963 the director of CAP was appointed chairman of a Schools Committee. Presidents of local Parents Associations formed the nucleus.

Armed with facts and figures on school overcrowding (14 of the 21 elementary and junior high schools in the school district were over-utilized by Board of Education standards) the proposed school building program of the Board and the steps involved in the budgetary process on the city level, the Committee developed an intensive campaign to mobilize community support for new schools. The Committee's slogan and objective were simple - a full day of school instruction for every child of school age in the South Bronx. Three bus loads carrying 150 residents attended the hearing before the City Planning Commission on school construction in December 1963. Thirty-five persons, most of them mothers of school children, testified. One mother spoke in Spanish. At the Board of Estimate hearing two months later a large delegation mobilized by the Schools Committee again made an effective presentation of the need for more schools in the South Bronx. As a result two schools which had been removed from the budget by the City Planning Commission were restored. This was in marked contrast to the previous years when the South Bronx had not been represented.

In the year following the Schools Committee under CAP leadership mobilized even broader community support. It organized the South Bronx delegation for the Budget Hearings which included not only representatives of the Parents Associations but also of tenant and civic groups, political parties, social agencies and the full complement of elected state and Congressional representatives. As a result, the City Planning Commission in its message to the Mayor on the 1965-66 Draft Capital Budget cited the situation of severe

school overcrowding and obsolescence in the South Bronx.

In 1965, the February membership meeting of the South Bronx Community Council was turned over to the Schools Committee for a rally to stimulate greater community participation in the campaign for more schools. In describing her participation on the Schools Committee, one of the Parents Associations' presidents stated: "This is the most wonderful thing I have done in the twenty years since I have been in this country."

A subcommittee, composed of five Parent Association representatives and a member of the local school board, followed up on progress of school construction through meetings with representatives of the Board of Education and with the Borough President and members of his staff.

As a consequence of the Committee's experience in "fighting City Hall" and their observations that the local school boards in other areas of the city played an active role in mobilizing community support for the needs of their district, the Parents Associations' presidents began to work toward changing the composition and role of their own local school board. They succeeded in both goals despite the opposition of the entrenched leadership. The result had been a closer liaison between the local school board and the community, public meetings are better attended, and the board issues a monthly newsletter to inform the community of its actions.

The Schools Committee continued to function on a sustained and increasingly stronger level. A broadly based community compaign and the large delegations at the Budget Hearings became an established pattern in the community.

The success of the Council's campaign was a major breakthrough. It was the first time the South Bronx had been heard from at City Hall in many years

and this was noted and commented upon by city officials. It was the first community-wide campaign under the aegis of the South Bronx Community Council. It was the first experience for many residents in social action and direct contact with the city government.

Those residents of the CAP neighborhood who participated gained new confidence in the potentialities of group action to effect change. They had vividly demonstrated to the South Bronx Community Council that, given leadership and direction, they could be activated and mobilized, and that, with such support, the neighborhood could make its needs known through the appropriate channels and could play a constructive role in affecting the distribution of services.

The Housing Committee

In the early days of CAP the Housing and Redevelopment Board of New York City had been approached with a request for an Area Services or Neighborhood Conservation program, but neither materialized as costs exceeded the city's available resources for these programs. With the completion of Mott Haven Houses, a new low-income housing project, there was community interest to reopen the issue because the deteriorating housing conditions in the CAP area were in sharp contrast to those of the new project.

A committee was organized by the Council and CAP and staffed by the Assistant Director of CAP. The Committee's purpose was to conduct an operation "Face Lift" to coincide with the opening of Mott Haven Houses, and to develop long range plans for rehabilitation of housing in the CAP neighborhood. It was composed of community leaders, a State Assemblyman, and representatives of the City Departments of Sanitation, Buildings, Rent and Rehabilitation, Fire Health and Police. The City departments were cooperative in providing more

services; particularly the Sanitation Department during the "Face Lift" campaign. Cooperation of landlords was enlisted without success. Those who responded complained of their difficulties in maintaining overcrowded buildings and their problems with manpower, material shortages, and the obtaining of mortgage money from the banks. The Committee considered with the Director of the New York City Experimental Rehabilitation Project the feasibility of a rehabilitation program in the CAP area. Numerous meetings were held with property owners, but there was insufficient interest in the plan. Long range plans for rehabilitation of housing never materialized.

The Committee conducted a survey of residents who had sought CAP's help through the Information and Referral Service in applying for public housing. It was undertaken in cooperation with the social work student unit of the Bronx Family Service Center of CSS.

In a two-year period there had been 90 requests for help with applications for public housing. Forty-five applicants agreed to participate in the survey. Of this number thirty-four families were interviewed in their homes to assess living conditions. Thirty-two were Puerto Rican and Negro. Half of the families ranged in size from six to eleven persons. The total number of children was 138, of whom 59 percent were under ten years of age. Eight families were self-supporting, 24 were receiving public assistance, and two were receiving disability and union benefits. Eighteen families were living in seriously overcrowded conditions. In some instances three and four children shared a single bed. Twenty-four families had medical problems such as asthma, heart conditions, high blood pressure and paralysis.

Most of the apartments were rat and vermin infested, had intermittent heat and hot water, cracked walls, holes in the ceilings and erratic and inadequate service. Many families who had applied for public housing were not

seeking other quarters as they were hopeful about their prospects of being accepted into public housing. One of the most surprising facts to emerge from the survey was that three-quarters of the families wished to remain in the neighborhood despite their fears and dissatisfaction with neighborhood conditions such as prevalence of drug addicts and alcoholics, robberies, violence, inadequate police protection and dirty streets.

With these findings in hand, the Housing Committee met with officials of the New York City Housing Authority to obtain clarification of tenant selection policies and notification procedures. The Committee cited examples of families who had held on to their acknowledgment cards for years, unaware that an application is invalid after two years. Other families made repeated applications but were never informed whether they were eligible or ineligible. In some instances CAP staff who had obtained reasons for rejection from the Housing Authority were able to help applicants take steps to meet eligibility requirements or to accept the fact of ineligibility and to try to find new quarters on their own.

The objective of the Committee was to convey to the Housing Authority the impact of some of its policies and procedures and to urge greater accountability of a municipal agency to the public it serves.

The Health and Hospitals Committee

Announcement of the imminent closing of St. Francis Hospital in June of 1965 precipitated a crisis in the community as the combined resources of St. Francis, a voluntary hospital, and Lincoln, a municipal hospital, were inadequate to meet the health needs of the South Bronx. An Ad Hoc Medical Emergency Committee, appointed by the Council, worked in conjunction with other community groups in a brief intensive campaign which resulted in a

temporary reversal of the decision. The Ad Hoc Committee, composed of staff members of social and health agencies in the area, including CAP, devoted its efforts during the summer to the preparation of a report in the hope that it would help provide a basis for further action to bring sorely needed facilities and services to the South Bronx. A CAP staff member, a force in the work of the Committee, assumed major responsibility for the preparation of the report.

The Committee found that the combined bed capacity of the two hospitals was 773 as compared with an estimated need of 1,177 for the population in the geographic area served by these hospitals. Visits to the Lincoln Hospital Emergency Clinic averaged 500 a day, the second highest count in the entire city. Infant mortality was on the increase in the Mott Haven Health District in contrast to a citywide decrease; there was a high rate of premature births; newly diagnosed tuberculosis cases in the Mott Haven area were twice as many as in the rest of the Bronx and the Bronx was the only borough in the city with an increase in tuberculosis mortality. Venereal disease was increasing. The rate of amebiasis was three times that of the rate of the city as a whole and the schistosomiasis rate was seven times the citywide rate. There was no tropical disease clinic in the area. A survey of 500 pre-natal patients at Lincoln Hospital showed 95 percent in need of dental care.

The report was most timely in view of plans for both construction of a new Lincoln Hospital, which had been under consideration for a number of years, and a projected plan for a new St. Francis Hospital. The Ad Hoc Committee was discharged and a permanent Health and Hospitals Committee was set up, with the CAP staff member as chairman. The Committee was charged by the Council to implement the recommendations of the report and saw its task as that of accelerating action on site selection for the new Lincoln

Hospital. The City's Capital Budget had included an appropriation for this construction for several years. The membership of the Committee was expanded to make it more representative of the community, and for the first time included residents of the area. The report was distributed widely to municipal and borough officials including the Mayor and Borough President. At the same time the facts in the report were publicized to a broad cross-section of the community, key leaders and officials at numerous public hearings. The chairman, in her dual role as Council spokesman and CAP staff, stimulated residents who were members of various CAP groups to become involved in these efforts with the result that they testified to their own needs and experiences at a series of public meetings. These included a legislative hearing, the Mayor's Task Force Hearing on Poverty and a community meeting called by the Borough President.

The culmination of weeks of hard work was the mobilization of a delegation representing the South Bronx Community Council, including members of CAP groups and other institutions in the community to the Site Selection hearings. While staff presented the statistical data, it was the residents whose direct emotional testimony carried weight.

The experience of taking part in decision making on the municipal level made a deep impact. Some of the comments after the hearings were, "If it were not for us being here, the opposition to the site might have won;" "We really have to get out there and let them know what we want;" "We have a say in this." The news item in the New York Times on the Budget Hearing in which the only quote other than that of a State Representative was that of one of the Puerto Rican women active with CAP, was a topic of conversation for a long time among the residents.

A site for the new Lincoln Hospital was selected in the early part of 1966 and is being prepared for construction. In view of the limited physical facilities at the present building, extra-mural services were instituted, such as home care service for maternity patients, neighborhood service centers as part of the Community Mental Health program and the opening of a satellite maternity center.

CHAPTER V

PLANNING AHEAD

In the spring of 1964, before the termination of the three year sponsorship by CSS, agreement was reached with the Youth Board that more time was needed to consolidate the gains made by CAP and to arrange if possible for the program to be continued under other auspices upon CAP's termination. A two year extension was therefore approved through June 30, 1966.

§ 1

The Transition Period

The three major objectives for the transition period of two years were: to expand patterns of neighborhood involvement in social planning and action; to explore further the neighborhood's potentialities for the continuation of the Information and Referral Service and summer resident camp program; and to determine the type of organization structure and staffing required for continuation under neighborhood auspices.

The cumulative impact of CAP's programs and services had begun to set certain forces in motion in the community. It was the belief of CSS that a breakthrough in the pattern of apathy and defeatism had been achieved but that this was only the first step in the development of latent community strength. CAP's efforts in working with different segments of the community had obviously contributed to modification of community attitudes and to perception of the neighborhood's capacity and resources for social action. The 147th Street Block Association had shown considerable progress in increased membership and active participation of residents in one of the worst streets in the CAP area. The organization and activity of the South

Bronx Community Council Schools Committee under CAP leadership demonstrated the concern and interest of the residents in increasing the educational facilities in the community and their ability to mobilize community support and conduct an effective campaign of social action. The Neighborhood Advisory Committee was increasingly effective in social planning and action and had involved the South Bronx Community Council in increased activity on issues of concern to the larger South Bronx area. In brief, CAP had served as a catalytic agent in developing greater awareness of problems and limitations of services as well as the potentialities in taking action on community needs.

Neighborhood development and action and planning for takeover proceeded concurrently during this period. Further neighborhood development included the organization of the 141st Street Mothers' Group and the Area Committee; the heightening of CAP leadership in the South Bronx Comminity Council which joined with the Neighborhood Advisory Committee in creating the Housing and Health and Hospitals Committees;the continuing experimentation with staffing patterns for the Information and Referral Service to encompass provision of short-term social service.

The Neighborhood Advisory Committee with CAP staff took major overall responsibility for planning for takeover. They addressed themselves to the task of determining what services were needed and what resources there were in the community for the continuation of CAP's programs after its termination. Exploratory discussions were held with local leadership and the Chairman of the Committee on Youth and Correction and its headquarters based staff. It became clear that, with one exception, none of the CAP programs would have funds for continuance. The exception was the summer resident camp program which CSS might continue on a diminishing scale for three summers following

that of 1966.

As many of the CAP programs were forerunners of the types of activities suggested for neighborhood anti-poverty programs under the Economic Opportunity Act, the Neighborhood Advisory Committee set up a Study Committee to develop a program proposal for anti-poverty funding.

The Study Committee was composed of 14 members representative of the Neighborhood Advisory and CAP Interagency Committees, the Mothers' Group and the two anti-poverty agencies in the area, the Community Committee of the New York City Council Against Poverty and South East Bronx United, Inc. CAP staff served as secretariat.

The study process was complicated by the fact that the New York City anti-poverty organization was in its formative stage and therefore its plans for the South Bronx, designated by it as one of the sixteen poverty areas, were most general in nature. Encouraged however by staff of the City's Economic Opportunity Committee three comprehensive program proposals were formulated upon recommendations of the residents of the neighborhood, agencies and civic leaders. There were three conditions on which the proposals were based: the requirement of any successor for professional staffing; the requirement for effective techniques of reaching out to the unserved and unaffiliated; the requirement that the CAP program should not be fragmented or dispersed by reason of lack of continuity.

§ 2

CAP's Successor

In April 1966 the Neighborhood Advisory Committee approved the recommendations and proposed plan for CAP's successor to be incorporated under the name of Community Action for Neighborhood Development, Inc. (CANDI). The

Board of Directors of the corporation composed of 25 members, was nominated and elected by the Neighborhood Advisory Committee. One-third were residents of the area.

On April 14, 1966 the Chairman of CANDI transmitted to the Economic Opportunity Committee three program proposals in the total amount of $750,000 for the first year of operation. CANDI's target area, generally designated as Mott Haven, was the southeastern portion of the South Bronx poverty area as defined by the New York City Council Against Poverty. The area encompassed the 22 square block CAP neighborhood but stretched out to include health areas 44, 45, 47 and a piece of health area 38. The estimated population of 75,000 has approximately the same ethnic and socio-economic characteristics as the CAP neighborhood.

The key program proposal was to strengthen family life and improve living conditions by providing through a FAMILY AID CENTER a range of services to an estimated 1500 families on an individual and group basis and by involving parents in community action for their own advancement and neighborhood betterment. There were four sub-programs: information, short-term counseling and referral; supervised part-time care of pre-school children combined with parent education on family living in an urban environment; instruction and equipment for homemaking activities; organization of parent groups to take action on problems of common concern.

The companion program proposal was to contribute to the wholesome development of youth by establishing a YOUTH SERVICES PROGRAM. The four part program included supervised small group activities for 7 to 14 year olds; leadership and skills training for 15 and 16 year olds; follow-up service with children and parents on health, behavior and educational problems;

summer resident camp placement service for 200 children. The third proposal, administrative in character, was to create a CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION to conduct the Family Aid Center and the Youth Services Program. The administration would facilitate the development and coordination of the programs; a training program for professional and non-professional staff and volunteers; fiscal and personnel management and ongoing evaluation and reporting on the component programs.

The New York City Council Against Poverty approved the proposal for funding in the amount of $248,904 but the amount was subsequently reduced to $168,003 and then further reduced to $136,957. As CANDI received word of each of the cutbacks in funding, CAP staff with the sanction of the CANDI Board of Directors, cut back on the three program proposals and resubmitted to the Council Against Poverty reduced programs within the funds approved. The Youth Services Program including the camp placement program was the first to be dropped, followed in turn by the Central Administration and then the homemaking activities of the Family Aid Center.

The proposal finally transmitted by the New York City Council Against Poverty to the Regional Office of OEO was in the amount of $136,957 for a Family Aid Center which now included essential aspects of the discarded Central Administration proposal. On January 3, 1967 almost eight months to the day of CANDI's first request for funding the proposal was rejected by the Regional Office along with 11 others from New York City owing to reduction in federal funds for community action programs. Only two of the 14 proposals recommended by New York City were funded.

The Community Development Agency of the Human Resources Administration in notifying CANDI of the rejection suggested that proposals be resubmitted for

the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1967. Therefore as of April 13, 1967 the Board of Directors of CANDI submitted to the South Bronx Community Committee its proposal for a Family Aid Center in the budgeted amount of $266,093. That Committee continues to serve as the anti-poverty organization for the area until a Community Corporation is constituted. The proposal incorporates the four sub-programs of the Center originally included in CANDI's first proposal of April 1966. Homemaking activities have been reinstated. The outcome on the proposal is unknown at this writing.

The Community Service Society at the time the Summer Resident Camp Program was eliminated with the other sub-programs of the Youth Services Program agreed to underwrite the costs of a camp placement program. Financing would be on a diminishing scale through the summer of 1969. Children from the CAP neighborhood would be considered first and, quotas permitting, children from the larger CANDI area would then be served.

Because of the uncertainty of when CANDI would hear from the New York Anti-Poverty Council on its requests for funding and mindful that the CAP program should not be fragmented or dispersed by reason of lack of continuity, CSS took the leadership in arranging for CAP's extension of six months until January 1, 1967. CAP was financed for the first three months by funds from the city of New York and for the second three months by CSS. On December 31, 1966 CAP was terminated.

During this period however the Board of Directors of CANDI with the assistance of CAP staff negotiated with the Community Development Agency for funding of CANDI on a minimal scale from January 1, 1967 to July 1, 1967. The purpose was to assure at least on a minimal basis some continuity until action could be taken on CANDI's resubmitted proposal. The negotiations

were successful. Minimal funds were provided by the Human Resources Administration and CANDI took over from CAP on January 1, 1967. Two CAP staff remained on with CANDI and a Supervisor, an accredited social worker was employed. The Community Service Society provided the services of the former Director of CAP, to assist in preparing the resubmittal. It also is staffing and financing the Summer Resident Camp Program.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS and RECOMMENDATIONS

CONCLUSIONS of the CAP demonstration project are woven into the body of this report. This Chapter confines itself therefore to the highlights of the five-year demonstration in neighborhood self-help. All conclusions are based on empirical evidence. CAP, under the CSS sponsorship of July 1, 1961 predated by three years the community action programs authorized by SS 204 and 205 of Title II-A of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Some of the programs and techniques therefore evolved from direct experience of a small staff and volunteers in working with persons living in poverty and were forerunners of anti-poverty projects in present day community action programs. The conclusions need to be viewed within the context of time and developments which have taken place since the enactment of the Economic Opportunity Act and its current struggle in the Congress to achieve the purposes for which it was created.

The physical setting of CAP, a 22 square block impoverished neighborhood in the South Bronx and its population of some 26,000 persons, was inherited from the earlier sponsor, the Juvenile Delinquency Evaluation Project. The major objectives of CSS differed from that of its predecessor.

The Committee on Youth and Correction believes that many of the objectives were achieved. Others were not. In highlighting the conclusions, the successes and failures, it is the Committee's hope that the lessons learned may be of use to others dealing now or in the future with the problems of a small impoverished neighborhood.

The objectives were:

ONE To demonstrate the feasibility of the concept that a small professional staff working in a small neighborhood for a limited time can stimulate the neighborhood to help itself.

While this objective was achieved it will be noted in the pages which follow that the staff was probably too small. The staff complement of five program persons was specified in the Youth Board contract prior to initiation of the project by CSS. Neither the two year experience of the Juvenile Delinquency Evaluation Project, the initial phase, nor the experience of CSS can shed light on the desired ratio of staff to population. During the five-year demonstration staff turnover was considerable. There were 28 different individuals occupying the nine professional and clerical positions. Changes in staff took place in spite of the fact that CAP, unlike other poverty organizations, operated on a firm three-year contract followed by a firm renewal for an additional two years; and at no time during the period was there any financial crisis.

Experience demonstrated that a considerable investment of time was required to organize and sustain activity of the poor, because they had little available time and no previous organizational experience. The mobility of the residents, their recurring family problems and staff turnover contributed to the difficulties in developing a permanent organization. The demonstration failed to achieve one of its staffing goals which was to have a director of research. Therefore, while facts and figures were maintained throughout, the evidence is of necessity empirical; the evaluation less systematic than would have been otherwise.

Staff could not have done the job alone. Volunteers from within and without the neighborhood played an important role in enabling the residents to develop their latent capacities, strengths and leadership potential. But volunteers, with their limited time for service and their varying schedules required time of staff, not only for orientation to the jobs to be done but to serve in their absence or in between their tours of duty. Key factors in the success of the volunteer program were breaking down the jobs into skilled and unskilled components, determining the qualification for the jobs and providing supervision by professional staff.

TWO To help an economically depressed neighborhood to develop a capacity to deal with its problems.

Substantial success was achieved. Group action in which the residents participated enabled the neighborhood to obtain services which would have been otherwise unavailable. Group action by professional persons, civic leaders and agencies also helped the neighborhood. The experience yields that activity on these two levels was essential. Staff was successful in helping residents organize tenant groups, block organizations and an Area Committee. These organizations presented the needs of the small neighborhood to the larger area of the Bronx and to the central city.

Composition of the groups involved the lowest economic level of residents. For most this was their first experience in group action. They were mostly women. Common concerns were the "bread and butter" issues of public assistance, housing and such neighborhood problems as safety of children, prevalence of drug addicts, theft, violence and the need for more police protection. The improvement of housing conditions was a major focus of all the groups. The tenant groups organized on a building-by-building basis for the sole purpose of improving housing conditions were only modestly successful. The tenants in many instances lost faith in the administration of code enforcement because the actions on complaints taken by the municipal agencies did not result in the correction of conditions. These difficulties in improving housing added to the process of making the neighborhood a ghetto of the poor. Despite the frustrations, group action was effective in improving substandard housing conditions in numerous instances.

Organization of residents by blocks had proved too ambitious for the small staff in the initial phase. CAP under CSS sponsorship was somewhat successful in part because more staff was made available for the organization of two block associations. Achievements were realized by the block association composed entirely of Puerto Ricans and the actions taken by the second block association composed of Negro mothers were successful in highlighting the needs of the neighborhood for improved public welfare allowances and services. The Negro mothers continued active until the close of CAP. Two were elected to the South Bronx Community Committee of the New York Council Against Poverty and another to the Board of Directors of CANDI.

The Area Committee representing the neighborhood as a whole while short-lived was active with the help of the Negro mothers in mounting a voter registration drive and in petitioning the Mayor to use his good offices in bringing the welfare strike of January 1965 to a close. The Committee portrayed in a letter signed by 150 residents to the Commissioner of Welfare the concerns of the neighborhood about welfare services. Members actively participated in a public hearing where welfare and poverty were the objectives of testimony; some joined the Lincoln Hospital Neighborhood Service Center in presenting key problems to the local welfare center. Further organization of residents was limited by staff time available and complicated by staff turnover. Nine community organizers occupied the three assigned positions during the five year period. Involvement of the entire population of 26,000 persons was not achieved.

Organization of the Neighborhood Advisory Committee (NAC) which was established in the initial phase was strengthened under CSS sponsorship and was indispensable to the success of CAP. In its fifth year NAC, composed of professional persons and civic leaders elected four residents to membership. It successfully engaged in identifying needs and problems of the area, in developing social service and action programs and in serving as the spokesman for the small neighborhood with the South Bronx Community Council. CAP successfully strengthened the Council by utilizing NAC members and staff in leadership and committee positions. The technique of building on that which had already existed, the Council had existed since the early 1930's, is to be commended to others. The Council involved the schools, churches and Parents Associations in obtaining increased school construction, better housing and health services.

Early in 1964 the CAP Interagency Committee representing thirteen public and voluntary health and welfare agencies in the South Bronx was formed. This was the first time in the South Bronx that agencies in concert examined and planned for improvement in services. The Committee fully confirmed the findings of CAP that a major problem of the neighborhood was the difficulty of public assistance recipients in obtaining help. It presented to the Commissioner of Welfare a five point bill of particulars for improvement of services: that caseloads be reduced in areas where there is a concentration of young families with complex problems; that an increase in clerical staff be authorized to free investigators in providing more direct help to clients; that the Moreland Commission's recommendation be implemented by streamlining and simplifying paper work; that every effort be made to automate to relieve clerical staff; that recurring items such as clothing for school children be issued routinely. The result was that the relationship between the local welfare center and the other agencies was strengthened. The Committee was a vital resource in planning for CAP's successor and many of its members are on the Board of Directors of CANDI. It is the view of CSS that interest of these agencies in this small neighborhood will continue whether or not the successor, CANDI, is funded.

As group action proceeded the residents gained experience, confidence and increasing competence in dealing with their own problems and in moving to community and civic issues. CAP served as an instrument for counteracting feelings of social isolation and alienation, breaking through the self-perpetuating cycle of helplessness and hopelessness by affording opportunities for residents to relate one to the other and to the wider community. The five-year experience culminated in the decision that CAP should not die. Residents, professional persons, civic leaders and agencies developed an anti-poverty proposal modeled on the lines of CAP. The result is Community Action for Neighborhood Development Inc. (CANDI). It exists minimally financed by the Human Resources Administration. CANDI awaits decision on its request for funds for full scale operation for the year beginning July 1, 1967.

THREE To strengthen family life and improve living conditions.

Substantial success was achieved. Individuals, families and youth received increased services from municipal agencies by means of referral, intervention and direct help from CAP staff and volunteers. Seventy-five percent of the residents known to CAP were recipients of public assistance. Two basic programs were responsible for the increase in services. The Information and Referral Service begun as a direct service to parents of problem children in the initial phase in 1959 was developed as the core program under CSS sponsorship and finally became the model for the core program of the Family Aid Center and CANDI. Essentially a forerunner of neighborhood centers in scope and range of its functions it provided referral or short-term social services to an estimated 6,000 persons in the five-year period. It contributed to the improvement of residents' living conditions and to the prevention of individual and family breakdown by facilitating the provision of needed services and entitlements and by crisis intervention. It was a walk-in service. No appointments were required. It was also effective in collecting data on individual problems which were used as a basis for planning group action and programs. Its ready accessibility in times of need, the trust and confidence extended by staff had a cumulative effect on restoring feelings of self-worth and dignity. It demonstrated effectively the usefulness of short-term social

services. It confirmed to CAP that voluntary agencies did not reach the very poor who resided in this neighborhood.

Services for youth were provided by seven youth pilot programs. With one exception these programs were successful and were continued as long as there was staff available. The Reading for Enjoyment and Cultural Enrichment programs, manned mostly by college students and conducted for two school years for under-achieving children, were discontinued because of lack of personnel. No assessment of their impact was possible. The two Homework Centers, one at the junior high school and the other in two churches also were successful. They were discontinued because the Board of Education instituted an extensive program of after-school study centers which included all of the schools in the area. The Pied Piper program providing recreation for children in the neighborhood was highly successful, although of one summer's duration. Similarly the Cooperative Play School for the young children on the 147th Street block was successful and had the active participation of four resident mothers. The Career Conference, designed to overcome a major obstacle - the lack of vocational motivation in the neighborhood - was also successful. Under the direction of East Side House, the sponsoring committee originally organized by CAP continues to explore with New York University ways and means of raising the educational and vocational aspirations of the junior high school students in the neighborhood. Unsuccessful was the Truant Project conducted as a small exploratory program for ten boys for six months. More intensive counseling was required than CAP could undertake. It was the belief of staff that this problem might well warrant study in depth under other auspices. And finally, the Summer Resident Camp Program financed by CSS proved a highly successful aspect of CAP's efforts to expand recreational opportunities. When CAP closed CSS agreed to finance camp placements for children in the neighborhood on a diminishing scale through the summer of 1969.

FOUR To test whether the flexible organizational structure of CAP and the techniques employed could be applied to similar neighborhoods.

This objective was only partially achieved. The history is that the swiftness of takeover by CSS from the Juvenile Delinquency Evaluation Project permitted no time to become acquainted with the neighborhood, to evaluate its needs and to plan for improvements. There was little continuity of staff. The complement of five program positions was given broad flexibility in carrying out assignments to provide direct service to residents and to help them organize to improve their individual and collective lives. The first year of CSS sponsorship was a trying one for all. The residents required continuance of that which had been begun in the initial phase or, dissatisfied, they asked for new approaches, programs and services. The second and third years gave witness to the development of the programs. They reached their peak. The final two years were spent in the development of a few new programs but most of the time was devoted to planning for the takeover by some other auspice. While CAP was extended for an additional half year, financed by the City of New York and CSS pending decision on its April 1966 request for funding of CANDI, the program was seriously diminished. CAP, like other organizations and groups applying for anti-poverty funds, suffered from its almost eight-month waiting period for a decision. When the decision was made in the negative although minimal

funds have been provided by the Human Resources Administration for CANDI, it is reasonable to say that the program was further diminished.

The primary techniques employed included provision of skilled casework service for diagnosis and treatment, referral to municipal and other agencies and organizations of the neighborhood. The plan of flexibility included the interchange of the program staff for the various assignments. The constant shifts in staff service served as a deterrent in measuring the applicability to other similar neighborhoods of the techniques used. In spite of these many limitations, it is suggested that the organizational structure might be usefully applied to other small neighborhoods where the central need is to help poor persons obtain entitlements and services and for interim help through short-term social services.

FIVE To assess whether a small neighborhood of 22 square blocks can make an impact on voluntary social and health agencies and on city government.

While the experience sheds some light on how far this objective was achieved it does not produce a precise answer which might be useful to others for planning and operating purposes. To begin with, the problems of the neighborhood were almost insoluble. Inadequacies, lack of responsiveness and inaccessibility of municipal and other services were the facts of life. Ways and means by which this small neighborhood was able to improve its status and that of its residents are described in the body of this report. Were the city and its impoverished small neighborhoods to undertake similar projects the advantage to the residents would be substantial if funds, staff and volunteers were available.

The smallness of the neighborhood made the services of CAP more accessible to the residents than if the project had covered a wider geographical area. The contribution of CAP was to sharpen the neighborhood's perception of its needs and to strengthen the organizational structure for presenting the needs to larger planning bodies and central administration of municipal agencies. While the CAP Interagency Committee and the South Bronx Community Council had an impact in making local services more responsive to the area's needs, they were not successful in effecting changes in policies and procedures of the municipal services.

SIX To determine to what extent a small impoverished neighborhood can absorb or be expected to assume full financial responsibility for ongoing programs and services upon termination of a time-limited demonstration project.

This objective was achieved. It was found unrealistic to expect a small neighborhood to raise money for ongoing services. While some time and effort were applied in the last two years of CAP in seeking outside financing, most of the time was spent in exploring the continuance of the camp placement program by churches and social agencies in the area. Financing was not

possible. The advent of the nation's anti-poverty program was fortuitous. The possibility that the Youth Board, the basic financer of CAP, might have continued to finance the services and group action after CAP's termination can not be ruled out. The fact is that because of the timing of the anti-poverty program the situation was not faced. One of the ideas which prompted CSS to sponsor CAP at the request of the Youth Board had been that a small staff might mobilize the St. Mary's Neighborhood and then move on to another small impoverished neighborhood and perform similar services. The experience of CSS with CAP however deems that idea to be impracticable. Turnover of staff, mobility of resident leadership, preoccupation of the poor with the arduous task of survival, all had negative impact on continuity of CAP programs. It is the view of CSS that a small staff centered in an area on an indeterminate basis is essential whether that staff be part of the Department of Welfare's satellite program or other decentralized programs of city government including those of the Human Resources Administration.

RECOMMENDATIONS which derive from the five-year demonstration in neighborhood self-help follow. Some are applicable to the Human Resources Administration, others to the Housing and Development Administration and still others to the community at large.

No. 1.--- The overriding recommendation is that more welfare, health and educational facilities and services are needed for neighborhoods which are seriously under supplied. Planning, coordination and group action can only partially fulfill the needs of a neighborhood if the basic services are not available. On the wide front, the conviction of the Department of Welfare that drastic changes are required in the level of payments, the method of administration and in the social service programs represents an important step in the right direction. Specifically for the St. Mary's Neighborhood, expansion of mental health services and day care programs and provision for part-time care of pre-school children are urgently required. Increases in educational and recreational facilities are also required.

No. 2 --- A small professional staff, who may or may not be neighborhood residents, and a sufficient number of resident sub-professionals and volunteers are basic requirements for any program designed to help the poor help themselves. Safeguards for retention of staff should be developed because continuity is essential to progress. Efforts should be accelerated to recruit and train volunteers, sub-professionals and the poor themselves if the poverty level is to be raised. Throughout the process of organization consistent effort should be made to bring the poor into the planning and execution of the programs. The Nelson and Scheuer amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act, the Adult Work Training and Employment Program are therefore most welcome. This legislation, known as the sub-professional's bill, for which $36.5

million has been appropriated, is designed to improve the physical, social, economic or cultural condition of the community in fields including but not limited to health, education, welfare, neighborhood redevelopment and public safety.

No. 3 --- The organization of small neighborhood development units or centers within the larger poverty areas assigned to Community Corporations merits consideration by the Human Resources Administration. While there is no one way to determine what constitutes a neighborhood, there is considerable usefulness in identifying a neighborhood by the way people in an area think of themselves as being neighborhood residents.

No. 4 --- Municipal and voluntary services should be located within reasonable proximity of the poor. This may be accomplished by developing agency outposts, Department of Welfare satellite centers, Community Progress Centers or neighborhood development units. In many instances these localized facilities should require trained social work staff to provide short-term social services.

No. 5 --- A strong communicating link between the central headquarters of the Human Resources Administration and the neighborhoods should be established through a field staff. This was contemplated in the Report of the Study Group of the Institute of Public Administration. The Human Resources Administration has central responsibility for planning and budgeting. This responsibility can best be carried out if day by day facts are available through close liaison with Community Corporations, their Community Progress Centers and their neighborhoods. In this way policies and procedures common to all poor neighborhoods should be possible of development and it should be possible to allocate more equitably funds for anti-poverty programs.

No. 6 --- The Housing and Development Administration should assure itself that the policies and procedures with respect to low income public housing and code enforcement are known and understood by the poor. Further, that Administration and the Department of Welfare should involve themselves to remedy the poor quality of the housing in which so many of the public assistance clients are located. It is therefore with satisfaction that we note that the Department of Welfare has secured the cooperation of the New York City Housing Authority in working to liberalize its procedures for screening welfare clients to develop arrangements for the admission of recipients to publicly-aided middle-income housing and for the utilization of rent supplements.

No. 7 --- All municipal services should continually assess their responsiveness to the needs of the poor for the purpose of assuring that rights under law and rules and regulations are safeguarded. Arrangements should be developed whereby the poor and others are enabled to determine on their own behalf benefits for which they are eligible and whereby processing of their claims for benefits

can be effected. These arrangements might be provided by Little City halls, an information and referral service such as provided by CAP, Community Progress Centers, neighborhood centers or an ombudsman and staff.

No. 8 --- Continuity of services within the anti-poverty program should be assured by proper program and budget planning. While it may be necessary that funds be appropriated annually, it is essential that programs and budgets should be authorized in advance and for time periods in excess of a year where circumstances warrant. Groups and organizations should be informed sufficiently in advance of the requirements of the Human Resources Administration in preparing and presenting programs and budgets. Firm time tables should be developed so that groups and organizations are not left in limbo awaiting action on program and budget requests.

No. 9 --- Consideration should be given to strengthening the participation of voluntary agencies in the ongoing planning of the "war against poverty." Effort should be made to engage voluntary and public agencies at the area or neighborhood level to join in meeting common problems.

No. 10 --- Continuing evaluation of programs in receipt of anti-poverty funds should be assured at all levels of administration. There is insufficient knowledge of techniques that are useful and of the results of established programs. Evaluation would be useful to others contemplating the development of anti-poverty programs.

No. 11 --- The community at large should actively support in the Congress the continuation and expansion of community action programs whereby the poor with organized voice can speak on their own behalf. Support should also be given to the President's effort in the Congress to include funds for summer camping in the Office of Economic Opportunity legislation currently under consideration.

CAP INTERAGENCY COMMITTEE

July 1, 1965 - June 30, 1966

Richard Kafka, Chairman
District Secretary
Salvation Army
Bronx Family Service Bureau

Anne Bolger
Supervisor
Visiting Nurse Service of New York

Mrs. Margaret Burnstein
Social Work Consultant
Albert Einstein College of Medicine
Lincoln Hospital

Mrs. Lillian Fuchs
District Guidance Coordinator
District 7, Board of Education

Emanuel Hallowitz
Director, Community Planning
Mental Health Service
Albert Einstein College of Medicine
Lincoln Hospital

The Rev. George E. Hardy
Congregational Church of New York
President, South Bronx Community Council

Phyllis M. Harewood
Field Administrator
New York City Youth Board
Treatment Services

Arthur Lane
Executive Director
Bronx Mental Health Society

Eugenia Leary
Administrative Supervisor
Catholic Charities, Bronx

Leo Lieberman
Manager, Adams Houses
New York City Housing Authority

Lieutenant Morton Prescott
Youth Division
Police Precinct 40

Esther Sanders
Director, Casework Services
East Side House

Agnes Scanlon
District Supervising Public Health Nurse
Mott Haven Health Center

Mrs. Esther Silver
Director, Bronx Family Service Center
Community Service Society

Charles Turetsky
Assistant to the Assistant Director
Melrose Welfare Center

Helen White
Senior Consultant
Community Mental Health Board

MEMBERS OF NEIGHBORHOOD ADVISORY COMMITTEE

July 1, 1965 - June 30, 1966

The Rev. George E. Hardy, Chairman
Congregational Church of North New York

The Rev. Elemit A. Brooks, Vice-Chairman
Willis Avenue Methodist Church

Mrs. Bernardina Barona
Resident

Anne Bolger
Supervisor
Visiting Nurse Service
of New York

Mrs. Margaret Burnstein
Social Work Consultant
Albert Einstein College
Lincoln Hospital

Dr. Bernard Friedman
Assistant Superintendent
Board of Education
District 7

Robert Goldstein
Head Librarian
Mott Haven Library

Benjamin Goodman
Principal
Public School 65

Edwin Greenidge
District Supervisor
Bureau of Community Education
Board of Education

Barney Hendley
Director, Urban League
Greater New York-Bronx Division

The Rt.Rev.Msgr. Cornelius Hughes
St. Pius Roman Catholic Church

Mrs. Leona Hutchings
Resident

The Rev. Robert Isaksen
Lutheran Church of St. Peter's

The Rev. Henry Jager
Mott Haven Reform Church

Richard Kafka
District Secretary
Salvation Army
Family Service Bureau
of the Bronx

Eugenia Leary
Administrative Supervisor
Catholic Charities-Bronx

Mrs. Mildred K. Lee
Guidance Counselor
Morris High School

David Leseine
Supervisor of Recreation
Department of Parks

Carleton Lindquist
Director
East Side House

Nancy Magorian
Field Advisor
Bronx Council
Girl Scouts of America

Harriet McFeeder
Human Relations Coordinator
Board of Education
District 7

Philip H. Michaels, Esq.

Mrs. Lucille Murray
Resident

Cyrus Nahemov
Manager
Mott Haven Houses
New York City Housing
Authority

Captain Edward Perry
Police Precinct 40

Ted Portnoff
Guidance Counselor
Federation Employment and
Guidance Service

Oma H. Price, M.D.
District Health Officer
Mott Haven Health Center

Mrs. Carmen Rodriguez
School Community Coordinator
Board of Education
District 7

Sidney Samuelson
Principal
Public School 27

Mrs. Bette Sanders
Resident

Samuel Silverstein
Director
St. Mary's Recreation Center

Joseph Torres
Director
South East Bronx United, Inc.

Charles Turetsky
Assistant to the
Assistant Director
Melrose Welfare Center

Patrolman Lawrence Wally
Police Precinct 40

Martin Weinstein
District Supervisor
Bureau of Attendance
Board of Education

Paul Weinstein
Principal
Junior High School 139